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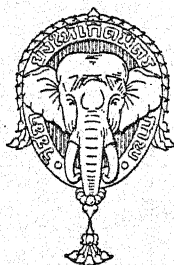
MARCH 1939.
R.H.C.

THE
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OF THE
SIAM SOCIETY
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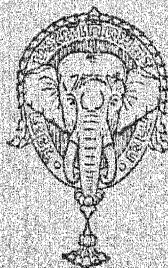
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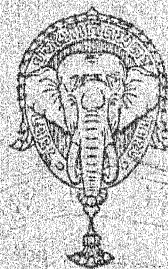
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MCMXXXIX

EARLY TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN DENMARK AND SIAM

by

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE DHANI NIVAT AND MAJOR ERIK SEIDENFADEN

While the history of the trade relations between Siam and the Portuguese, Dutch, English and French during the 16th and 17th centuries is more or less well-known to those interested in Siamese history, it is not so well-known that Denmark in the beginning of the 17th century also made a bid for a share in the commerce with Siam. As a matter of fact the trade relations between the Danish colonies on the East coast of India and the Siamese provinces on the Bay of Bengal, which commenced in 1620, were kept up for a very long time.

Denmark was governed in the beginning of the 17th century by King Christian IV (1588-1648) an energetic and well-informed monarch who, like so many of his contemporaries, saw in mercantilism a means whereby to enrich his country and himself. He therefore favoured lively trade relations with overseas lands, and, due to his encouragement, there was founded in 1616 in Copenhagen the Danish East India Company (*Dansk Ostindisk Kompagni*) which, with intervals, and under changing names, practically lasted for more than two hundred years until it was finally dissolved in 1843.

This trading company was founded on the proposal of two Dutchmen, Jan de Willum and Herman Rosenkrantz, and it was granted a trade monopoly for twelve years to start with in order to trade with the East Indies, China and Japan. Its capital was, to begin with, quite a small one, amounting only to 190,000 Danish *Dollars of the Realm* which, if one estimates the value of the money of the period to be three times as much as that of the present day, should be about £50,000.

In 1617 the Dutchman, Marcelin de Boshouwer, who was in the service of the so-called Emperor of Ceylon, arrived in Denmark in order to obtain the Danish King's assistance against the enemies of Ceylon. It was therefore decided to join political aims to those of commerce and a small fleet was fitted out and sent to Ceylon under the command of Ove Gjedde, later Admiral of the Realm. This man, though quite a young person of only twenty-four years of age, proved himself to be the right man in the right place under the most difficult circumstances.

The fleet consisted of two men-of-war, the *Elefanten* and the *David*, two merchant vessels, *Kristian* and *Kjøbenhavn*, besides a small Dutch ship loaded with provisions for the fleet. The fleet weighed anchor and left Copenhagen on the 14th November 1618. A yacht named *Øresund*, commanded by the Dutchman, Roland Crappé, of whom we shall hear more anon, preceded the fleet as a kind of scout.

After the long and perilous voyage of those days the fleet finally arrived at Ceylon where the so-called Emperor or King of Kandy had promised certain pieces of territory to Denmark. It became soon clear, however, that the Danes were not wanted in this island, and Admiral Gjedde had to give up all further efforts at treaty making. The enterprising Captain Crappé had meanwhile not been idle but had gone on to the coast of Coromandel and started negotiations with the Naik or Raja of Tanjore for the cession of a port to the Danish trading concern. On the 9th September 1620, Gjedde arrived at the small port of Tranquebar, and after a meeting with the Naik the Danes obtained the port of Tranquebar and a small piece of surrounding country. Here the walled brick fortress, Dansborg, was constructed, which can still be seen to-day. Captain Crappé was appointed the first Danish governor of Tranquebar, after which Admiral Gjedde returned with his squadron to Denmark,

Tranquebar became the headquarters for the subsequent Danish colonial activities. The so-called Lodge of Serampore, with Frederiksnagor on the Hoogli, was added to the Danish colonies. So was the archipelago of the Nicobars consisting of seven large and thirteen lesser islands.

It is not, however, the aim of this paper to relate the history of the Danish Indian colonies. Suffice it to say that a short-sighted

government in Denmark gave up most of the Danish possessions over the seas by the middle of the last century. Tranquebar was thus sold in February 1845 to the British East India Company for £125,000; the colony on the Gold Coast, a most flourishing possession, went in 1850 for the paltry sum of £10,000 also to Great Britain and the Nicobars were given up in 1848, to be annexed by the British in 1869.

From the annals of the Danish East India Company we know something about the trade relations between Tranquebar and Siam. These were limited to the Siamese provinces on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. As far as we have been able to find out, Danish ships never visited Ayudhya. Among the *produce* brought from Siam to Tranquebar were sometimes elephants. Danish manufactured guns, dating from the middle of the 18th century, were sold to Siam and some of them can still be seen in the old fortress at Samut Sakorn (Tachin) and in Singora. The famous long Danish muskets of the end of the 18th century were also well known in Kedah, at that time under Siamese suzerainty.

The port mostly frequented by the Danish ships from Tranquebar seems to have been Tenasserim, called by the Siamese of that time Müang or Nakhon Tranauwasi,—though curiously enough this fact is not mentioned at all in Maurice Collis' book on that arch scoundrel and pirate *Siamese White*, who resided there as Siamese governor during the latter years of King Phra Narai Maharaj's reign. The first Danish ship to call at Tenasserim was commanded by the above mentioned Captain Crappé, the Dutchman in Danish service who became the first Governor of Tranquebar. His visit took place in the year 1621, during the reign of King Song Tham (1610-1628), and thus shortly after the Danes had taken possession of Tranquebar.

Our knowledge of this visit to Tenasserim is due to His Excellency State Councillor H. N. Andersen,⁽¹⁾ the founder of the new Danish East Asiatic Company. Quite a number of years ago His Excellency, during a visit to the Archives of the Realm (*Rigsarkivet*) in Copenhagen, came upon three documents written in pencil on Siamese home-made paper (*kradalat khoi*). He had them photographed and forwarded to His Royal Highness Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, at that time President of the National Library. The reproductions of these

(1) Since this was written His Excellency has passed away (30/12/37).

documents, which are published in this paper, have been made from a set of photographs kindly presented by His Royal Highness.

From the translation of these documents, it will be seen that the document issued by the Governor of Tanausri was dated the 13th day of the waning moon of the first month in the year *Rakā Trinisok*, which corresponds to the 10th December 1621. The second letter from two minor officials of Tanausri was four days earlier, and the third document is undated.⁽²⁾

These documents constitute the very beginning of commercial and diplomatic intercourse between Denmark and Siam and as such they are of no mean interest for the study of Siamese history. As will be seen from the translation of the documents, the Danish ship, which was probably identical with the aforementioned yacht *Oresund*, with her commander and crew of sailors and soldiers, was received in a very hospitable and friendly manner by the authorities in Müang Tanausri. It is therefore no empty talk when the Danes speak of their traditional friendship with Siam.

LETTER 1.

Text:

๑ อักษรบวรคาถา ออกญาไชยที่บัดศรีวรรณงกาไชยอภัย
 ปรียบวรกรม
 ภาหุออกญาตรเนาวศรีมหาณคอร มาถึงเรอธิดมาศ ด้วยมีพระ
 ราชกำหนด ออกมาไว้ในเมืองตรเนาวศรีมหาณคอร ในตักษพระราช
 กำหนดนั้นว่า ถ้าถูกค้าตางประเทศ เข้ามาซื้อขายยังท่าเมืองตรเน
 าวศรี

5 หาณคอร ซื่อขายแล้วแต่จันออกปเด่อกตาม ถ้าแต่เข้าไปซื้อขาย
 ถึงกรุงพระมหาณคอรทวารวดีศรีอยุธยา กตามเวลา แต่ให้ซื้อ
 ขายจงดีดวกญาให้แก่นเคื่องได้ เมืองธิดมาศ แต่เมืองตรเนาว

(2) The calculation of the dates given in these letters has kindly been undertaken by Major-General Mom Chao Wongs Nirajara, former Deputy Director-General of the Gendarmerie and at one time an officer in the Military Survey Department.

A circular postmark from London, dated 1894. The text "LONDON" is at the top and "1894" is at the bottom. In the center is a circular emblem featuring a figure, possibly a saint or a historical figure, surrounded by a decorative border. The postmark is slightly faded and has some ink smudges.

- ศรีมหาณคอรบรรณราชปรเวณแต่ก่อน แดงก้าในเมืองอริธมา
 จได้ไปเฝ้าวันแคว้นขึ้นเสมาแห่งเมืองตรวเนาศรีมหาณคอร
 10 ได้ยังไปเฝ้า ครังเรอธิดมาศคิดความหัดเด้นหาจเป็นไม
 ตรีด้วยว่า แดให้กบิตันกรเบศอริธมาศ นำเอาขันนํ้าหนึ่งเข้ามา
 ยังท่าเมืองตรวเนาศรีมหาณคอร แดกบิตันกรเบศอริธมาศเรียน
 แดว่าว่า เรอธิดมาศอยู่สุขสวัสดิ์ด้วยมุขมนตรีเสนาบดี
 ทั้งหลาย แดเมืองอริธมาศสุขเต็มเปรมปรชานัน เรากฎนดีเฝ้า
 15 นึกนา จึงเรากให้รับดู เสดยดู กบิตันกรเบศอริธมาศแหทหารทั้ง
 ปวง แดเรากให้ชื้อขายตามปรารถนาทุกประการ แดซึ่งเป็นจังกอบได้
 แก่เรา แดรู้บันดาได้แก่มุขมนตรีตามทำเนียมไ้แต่บรรณราชนั้น
 กให้ตแก่กบิตันกรเบศอริธมาศ เพราะจไ้ใครเป็นพันธมิตร ดี
 หันดี เสดนหาด้วยเรอธิดมาศ ดั่งใดแดเมืองตรวเนาศรีมหาณ
 20 คอรแดเมืองอริธมาศจเป็นอนันตเดียวแดงก้าในเมืองอริธ
 มาศจไปมาค้าขายในเมืองตรวเนาศรีมหาณคอรมีชาติได้ไ้แล้วณ
 บันญาเรอธิดมาศ อักษรมาวันศุกร์เดือนอ้ายแรมสิบสามค่ำกา
 ตรีณคก

ตรา นาค

LETTER 1.

Translation :

Letter of Okyā Chaiyāthibodī Srironarongalūchai Aphaiphiriyaba-
 rākromaphāhu, Governor of the great city of Tranauwasri to the
 Reth of Ath'īlamās :

The following royal decree is given to the great city of Tranauwasri. It is hereby decreed that should foreign merchants enter the harbour of the great city of Tranauwasri to trade, and, having accomplished their business, should either be leaving the city (seawards) or be going on (?by land) to the metropolis of Thawārāwadī Sī Ayuthayā, they are to be given every facility to carry on their business without cause for irritation. Between Athilamās and Tranauwasri an old tradition exists that merchants from Athilamās be enabled to travel within the territory belonging to the great city of Tranauwasri. And now the *Reth* of Athilamās, in consideration of (our mutual) regards, wishing (to establish) friendship with us, has instructed Captain Karabés of Athilamās to bring a ship into the port of the great city of Tranauwasri. Captain Karabés of Athilamās informs us that the *Reth* of Athilamās is in good health and in the good company of all his chief councillors and generals and that the country of Athilamās is happy and prosperous. The which we are glad to hear of, and have therefore had Captain Karabés of Athilamās and his soldiers entertained as our guests; and have moreover permitted them to carry on their trade in accordance with all their wishes. As to duties accruing to us as well as fees due to our chief councillors by old custom, they have been lightened for Captain Karabés of Athilamās because of our will to establish a close friendship with the *Reth* of Athilamās. Whatever will tend to further cement the ties (of friendship) between the great city of Tranauwasri and Athilamās, and (whatever will facilitate) merchants from Athilamās in their continued trade in the great city of Tranauwasri, that (we) leave to the wits of the *Reth* of Athilamās.

Given on Friday, the 13th of the waning moon of the first month of the year of the Cock, being the third of the decade (corresponding to the 10th December 1621).



NAGA SEAL

ทั้งนี้คือจดหมายของสมเด็จพระเจ้าอยู่หัวฯ ออกมาครั้งนั้นแล
มีเนื้อเรื่องว่า... (The text is a handwritten letter in Thai script, written in a cursive style. It appears to be a historical document, possibly a royal decree or a letter from a high-ranking official. The text is dense and covers most of the page. There are some corrections or insertions visible in the middle of the text. The handwriting is somewhat difficult to decipher due to the cursive style and the age of the document. The text ends with a signature and a date.)

LETTER 2.

Text:

- หนังสือออกพระจอมเมืองศรีราชา โทษา ออกหลวงจันดราษยุภบัตร
มาถึง เรารู้ดีดมาศด้วย กาบัดตันกราเบ็กดีดมาศนำเอาดีเพา
ดำนั่งเข้ามาซื้อขายยังท่าเมืองต่วนครีมหาณคอรแด พณ
หัวเจ้าท่านออกญาไชยที่บดคีร์วังรงคฤไชยอภัยพิริยบวรกรมภา
5 หุ่ท่านออกญาตรนาวศรีมหาณครกให้เลี้ยงดูกาบัดตันกรา
เบ็กดีดมาศแต่ฝรั่งผู้มาทั้งปวง แด้ให้กาบัดตันกราเบ็กดีดมาศ
ซื้อขายเปนสดวก ซึ่งจังกอบแดริตชาบันดาได้แก่พณหัวเจ้า
ท่านแดริตชาบันดาได้แก่พระหลวงหัวเมืองแดกรมการยตามทำเนียม
นั้นพณหัวเจ้าท่านกให้ยกไ้แก่กาบัดตันกราเบ็กดีดมาศแต่พณ
10 หัวเจ้าท่านกให้แต่งเลี้ยงแดอาหารกันกัน (?) ให้แก่กาบัดตัน
กราเบ็กดีดมาศแต่ฝรั่งทหารทั้งปวงเดา อนึ่งก็จ้ศุกทุกก่า
บัดตันกราเบ็กดีดมาศ ซึ่งจปรากหน้าพณหัวเจ้าท่านกให้พระหลวง
หัวเมืองดำเมจุการ ซึ่งกาบัดตันกราเบ็กดีดมาศปรากหน้าพณ
ทุกปรการ อนึ่งแผ่นดินเมืองต่วนครีมหาณครแดแผ่นดินเมืองดัด
15 มาศได้เป็นแผ่นดินเดียวแวดแด ขอเรารู้ดีดมาศให้กาบัดตันกราเบ็ก
ดีดมาศแดดูคาทั้งปวงให้ไปมาซื้อขายอย่าใดขาด
บอกมาให้ทราบในวันจันทเดือนชยแรมเก้าค่ำวาทวันนี้ศก

ตรา

LETTER 2.

Translation :

Letter from Okphra Chom-müang Sri Rājākosā, and Okluang Chindārāj, the Inspector, to the *Rethò* of Dīlamās :

Captain Karābek of Dīlamās brought a ship to trade in the port of the great city of Tranauwasri, and His Excellency the Governor Ok-yā Chaīyāthibodī Srironarongarūchai Aphaiphiriyabarākromaphāhu, Lord Governor of the great city of Tranauwasri, had Captain Karābek of Dīlamās and all the farangs who came with him duly entertained and allowed him to carry on buying and selling with expedience. All dues and fees accruing by law to His Excellency and all fees accruing by law to the provincial officials have been waived by His Excellency's order for Captain Karābek of Dīlamās. His Excellency has further ordered the delivery of food to Captain Karābek of Dīlamās and the farang soldiers who accompany him. Moreover the welfare of Captain Karābek of Dīlamās which His Excellency has ordered the provincial officials and Captain Karābek of Dīlamās have been all accomplished. Further, the land of Tranauwasri and the land of Dīlamās shall be as one. May the *Rethò* of Dīlamās instruct Captain Karābek of Dīlamās and all his agents to come and carry on their trade without.

Given on Monday, the 9th of the waning moon of the first month, year of the Cock, being the third of the decade (corresponding to the 6th December 1621).

LETTER 3.

(Only the left half of this being available, the missing right half seems possible of being supplied from Letter 2 and in the translation has been inserted in italics).

Text :

หนังสือออกพระจอมเมืองศรีวิราชโกษา ออกหลวงจินดาราชยุภักตร์

มาเถิงเรณู

ดัดเกล้า ด้วยกามัดคนกว้าเบ็กดัดเกล้านำเอาดีเพาดำนั่งเข้ามาขอ

ขายยังท่า

เมืองตระเนาศรีมหานคร ซึ่ง พ่อแก้วเจ้าท่านออกญาไชยาธิบดีศรี
รณรงค์ไชย

อภัยพิริยบรากรมพาหุ ท่านออกญา ตระเนาศรีมหานคร ให้เลี้ยง
ดกาบิต

- 5 ตันการาเบ็กดีดมาศแต่ทหารผู้ มาทั้งปวงแต่ให้กาบิตตันการาเบ็กดีด
 มาศซื้อขายเป็นอันสะดวก ซึ่ง จึงกอบแลริชานันดาได้แก่พ่อแก้ว
เจ้าท่านแหวะ

หดวงหัวเมืองแลกรมการตามท่า เนี้ยมนันพ่อแก้วเจ้าท่าน ให้ยก
ไวแก่กา

ปิดตันการาเบ็กดีดมาศแต่ พ่อแก้วเจ้าท่านให้แต่งเลี้ยงแหวะอาหาร
 กันกินให้แก่กาบิตตันการา เบ็กดีดมาศแต่ทหารทั้งปวง แด

- 10 นันดา อนึ่งกิจจุกทุกกาบิต ตันการาเบ็กดีดมาศซึ่งจปรำถ์หน้า
นัน พ่อแก้วเจ้าท่าไทพ ระหวางหัวดำเมฤจการซึ่งกาบิตตัน
การาเบ็กดีดมาศปรำถ์หน้า

Translation (word for word):

Letter from Okphra Chom-Müang Sri Rājakosā
 and Okluang Chindārāj the Inspector, to the Rethò of
 Dilakamās : Captain Kārābek of Dī-
 lakamās brought a ship to trade in the port of
 the great city of Tranauwasri and
 His Excellency Okyā Chaityāthibodī Srironarongarūchai
 Aphaiphiriya Barākromaphāhu, Lord Governor
 of the great city of Tranauwasri, duly entertained Cap-
 5 tain Kārābek of Dīlamās and the soldiers who
 came with him, and allowed Captain Kārābek of Dīla-
 kamās to buy and sell with expedience. As to
 dues and fees, whichever accrue to His Excellency and

the provincial officials according to custom, *His Excellency caused to be waived in favour of Captain Kārābek of Dīlakamās and His Excellency caused to be served food and provisions for the use of Captain Kārābek of Dīlakamās and all the soldiers.*

- 10 As for the welfare and happiness of Captain Kārābek of Dīlakamās and whatever they may wish for, His Excellency has given orders to the provincial officials to satisfy them, according as Captain Kārābek of Dīlakamās may desire.

We have here three letters addressed to a certain personage called the *rethò* of Denmark. Their purport is practically identical.—friendship and amity. This word *rethò* presents a little problem. *Rex* has been suggested, in which case it would refer to the King of Denmark. The wording, however, of all three letters is hardly proper for such an exalted recipient, for not only the Governor of Tenasserim but also his subordinates addressed this *rethò* on terms of equality, using the personal pronoun *We* in an authoritative tone. It would of course be unreasonable to expect provincial officials in a far off country in East Asia to be conversant with all the exactitudes of diplomatic protocol as practiced in Europe. It would perhaps be even more unreasonable to expect the same from a Dutch mariner and adventurer like Crappé. It is nevertheless difficult to believe that everybody concerned should have been so ignorant as to the status of a King of Denmark! There is perhaps a possible explanation. The word for a head of state in colloquial Siamese happens to be the same as that used for a provincial Governor—*Chao Mūang*. Interpreters have been known to be men unaccustomed to the language of diplomacy, resulting, in several actual cases in history, even in the breaking off of diplomatic conversations. Could it have been that in the case of these letters the interpreters—there must have been at least one to translate from the Dutch into, possibly, Malay and another from that language into Siamese—made use of this colloquial expression from which the Siamese authorities understood that they were dealing with some Governor of a foreign province whose status was not so very different from their own?

The foreign captain is mentioned invariably as *Captain Karabes* of *Ath'ilamās* in the first, and *Captain Karābek of Dilamās* in the second, and either *Krābek* or *Kārābek* in the third letter with a slight difference in the way of indicating his nationality, due perhaps to negligence. The man has been identified with a certain *Crappé* who, however, was not a Dane but a Dutchman. The final *s* in the name is obviously superfluous, and cannot be explained with any certainty. It might have been due to the assimilative influence of the next word which we will now consider.

The word indicating the nation with which they were dealing is written *Ath'ilamās* (letter 1), *Dilamās* (letters 2 and 3), and *Dilakamās* (letter 3). Whether the interpreter was keeping to the Danish pronunciation or any other, it could never have ended in an *s*. That *s*, however, was invariably the guttural sibilant *ศ*. Had the word been written with the soft guttural *ก*, *ค*, instead of its sibilant, the transcription would have been normal. One hesitates to be for ever blaming the ignorance of the interpreter; but here again it is more than tempting to imagine that either he or the official scribe was to be blamed for confusing the two letters which were, after all, rather similar in look. In the first letter, moreover, we come to the expression of เรืออีลมาศ, as opposed to the เรืออีลมาศ of letters 2 and 3. It should be mentioned here that if we consider the expression in the first letter as เรือ+อีลมาศ, we should be having something comparatively uniform for all three of them. Unfortunately the scribe who wrote the first letter—probably less familiar with the sound of foreign languages than the man who wrote the second and third—considered the expression to be เรือ+อีลมาศ rather than เรือ+อีลมาศ. Hence the superfluous *a*-of the first letter.

From a linguistic point of view, these letters are interesting for their archaisms in syntax, vocabulary and spelling. Though they only date from the early part of the XVII century, few Siamese manuscripts in existence can boast of an older age. The way moreover in which Siamese was written in those days not only shows that considerable modifications in this respect have taken place since then, but also suggests problems of intonation which do not seem to have engaged the attention as yet of scholars who have written about the language. As regards orthography, the vowel ^๔ is invariably represented by its long counterpart ^๔, e. g. ช้าง (for ช้าง); and the diphthong ^๔ seems

freely interchangeable with เ-อ, e.g. เมือง (and เมือง). Many words are written with a *mai malai* (ไม้) instead of a *mai muan* (มู) as we write them, e.g. ไคร. The glottal stop, now qualifying only the vowel *a*, is found with both of the other simple vowels, e.g. กฤษ and สัตต๊ะ. With regard to the tones, it is to be noted that the diacritical mark of *mai ek* was very freely used to indicate the least presence of stress, as for instance: มัวอ, กั (modern กั). Certain accentuations suggest that the spoken language of those days was intonated somewhat differently from the standard modern Siamese of Bangkok. Take for instance the word ปราณ, which is now pronounced as ปราณะหน. One of the letters here shows by its phonetic transcription that the word was pronounced differently, thus: ปราณั. There is of course the possibility that the man who wrote this particular letter was a provincial and therefore adopted a different intonation from that used in the capital, which would presumably be the standard and the medium of culture of the day; and yet no educated provincial nowadays writes the language in a different way from that used everywhere else. Incidentally it might be mentioned that this particular mode of accentuation of the word ปราณ would be identical with what an uneducated man from Supan or Nakon Chaisri would adopt with spontaneity were he called upon to read the word written in the ordinary way: that is to say, he would read ปราณ as ปราณั.

The word ฝรั่งเศส—Farang—is again an interesting one. Its occurrence in this letter seems to be perhaps the earliest yet found in any writing. It is now written ฝรั่งเศส and denotes primarily *Europeans* and secondarily all Westerners. It has been explained that the origin of the word is from the Persian *feringhi*, which referred to the *Franks*, and later applied to Westerners in general. In the reign of King Narai, towards the end of the 17th century, we find the word ฝรั่งเศส used for France, and ฝรั่งเศส for *français*, in the sense of French nationals (*JSS. XIV. 2 p. 15*), hence the modern word ฝรั่งเศส. We do not know the exact date of the commencement of relationship with Persia, but the presence of the word in these letters proves that it dates at least from an early part of the 17th century.

Siamese histories written during the Bangkok period record that when the old capital was founded it was given the name of *Thawā-rāwadī Srī Ayuthayā* (*Dvāravatī Srī Ayudhyā*) in order to carry

on the analogy of the hero Rāma in India whose name the founder of our Ayudhyā adopted as his official style. Now, the capital of the Indian hero was, as is well-known, Ayodhyā. How then did the first part *Thawārāwadi* come in? The point is being dealt with in a separate note,⁽³⁾ and it is to be noted here that our Governor of Tenasserim was already alluding to the capital in 1620 by this twin name. This is the earliest use again of the name *Thawārāwadi* yet found in the written contemporary literature of Ayudhya.

In the first letter it is mentioned that all duties and fees had been lightened in favour of the Danish traders. The word translated by *duties* here is จังกอป, *changkop*; and by *fees*, ริด, *rid*. In the second letter the first word again occurs, but the second is slightly different, thus: ริดชา, *ridchā*. The third letter does not contain the words. Dealing first with *changkop*, this word has been the subject of considerable discussion. It occurred first in the inscription of Rāma Kamhaeng in a slightly different form, thus: *chkòp*; and was translated by Cœdès as *tax*. It next occurred in the Franco-Siamese treaty of 1688, ratified by Louis XIV in 1689 (*JSS. XIV, 2. pl. V*). It was there, however, coupled with two other words, thus: จังกอป ขมอน แล ริดชา, which appeared in the French text as *droits d'entrée et de sortie*. Cœdès rendered this into English as *import and export duties* (*ibid.* p. 36), with a footnote explaining that the word was obsolete and meant (*import*) *duty*. Quaritch Wales says of this word that it had, throughout the Ayudhyā and early Bangkok periods, the special meaning of "customs and inland transit duties" (*Ancient Siamese Government and Administration, 1934, p. 197*). He was probably translating *changkop* by *customs*, for *inland transit duties* is usually understood to be the equivalent of the word ขมอน, a fact which he himself confirms (*ibid.* p. 209). At any rate his translation into *customs* would seem to be, not a contradiction of Cœdès' *tax*, but rather a specification of it. On the other hand Cœdès' (*import*) *duty*, seems to be questionable—as regards the *import*... part of it. The simple word *duty* has therefore been adopted in this place. The word *ridchā*, more correctly ริดชา, transcribed *rija* by Wales, is now used for *fees* and seems from the context of our letters to have had that meaning all along. La Loubère, in describing emoluments to

(3) Owing to lack of space this note has been held over for publication in the next number. Ed.

which a provincial governor was entitled (*La Loubère : English translation by A. P. Sen, 1689, p. 83*) said : *In the maritime governments, the Tchaou-Meuang sometimes takes customs of the merchant ships, but it is generally inconsiderable. At Tenasserim it is eight per cent. in the kind, according to the Relations of the Foreign Missions.*

Among the archaisms in the syntax, may be mentioned the following interesting passages :

Letter 1, line 5 ข้อหายแล้ว แล้วคั่นออกไปแล้ว

The co-ordinative conjunctions (in italics) are, except in one expression ไม่รู้แล้วรู้แล้ว meaning *never ending*, obsolete.

In line 5 also we have the archaic conditional preposition of ถ้า แล้ว meaning *if*, now reduced to ถ้า.

In line 14, the expression ขึ้นดีถึง is out of use, and is now replaced by ขึ้นดีด้วย.

In line 15, the expression รับสั่งเลี้ยงดู is now obsolete.

Archaisms in spelling abound. In fact it would seem that there could not have been a hard and fast standard of spelling in general use. One hears always complaints about there being no definite standard of spelling nowadays, but from a glance at these letters it would seem that the evil is an old one !

Going on then to deal with the letters one by one, we have in letter 1 an official communication from the Governor dated *Friday the thirteenth of the waning moon of the first month of the year of the Cock, the third in the decade*. The orthography, especially in its accentuation, is variable ; but the writing is clear and legible. It contains expressions of friendship and amity and sanction for all forms of commerce, in which all duties and fees are lightened in favour of friendship for Denmark on the part of the local Government.

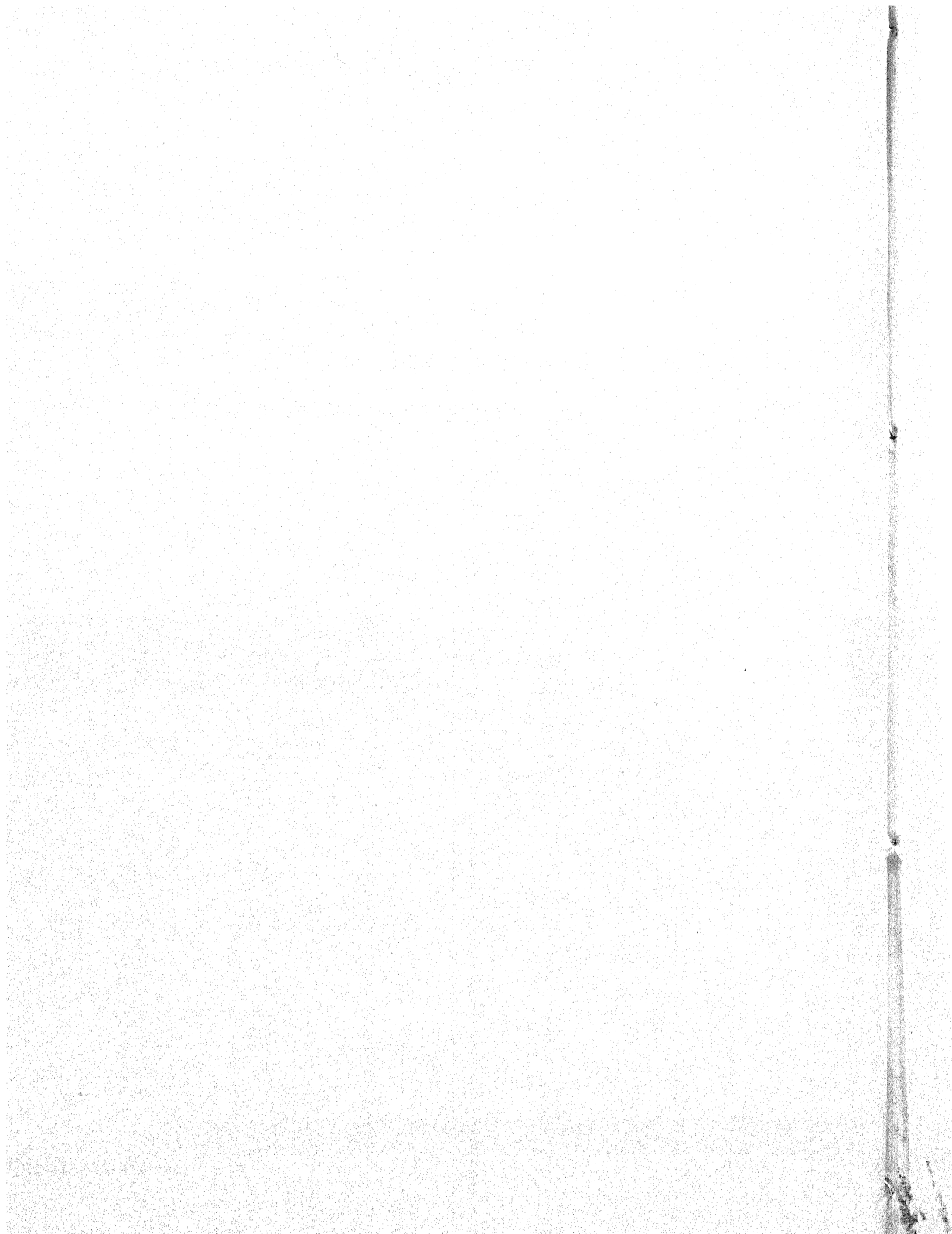
As is customary with Siamese letters and communications in olden days, the name of the sender is written in full at the beginning and no signature is appended. Official correspondence, however, bore official seals of the sender which practically took the place of the signature. The title of the Governor is identical with that ordained in the Statutes of Sakdina. Tenasserim was written *Tranauwasri*, indicating the presence then of an extra syllable after the second which is no longer pronounced now. The seal at the end of the letter was no doubt the seal of office for the Governorship of Tenasserim. It is

rather like the royal seal called *Nāgapallang noy*, the use of which was revived by the late King Rama VI in favour of the heads of the bigger departments in the then extensive jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain. It is quite likely that the seal used in this letter might have also been such a royal seal too, and therefore what has come down to the senior subordinates of the Lord Chamberlain might well have been the seals of office of the Governors of the maritime provinces, for *Nāgapallang* signifies the *snake-couch* of Vishnu *in the oceans*.

The second letter was written on Monday, the ninth of the waning moon of the first month in the same year. It was therefore four days older than the Governor's letter. It was from Okphra Chom-müang Srirājakosā, probably the Deputy-Governor, and Okluang Chindārāj, the Inspector. Its purport was probably a covering letter for that of the Governor, though it does not say so. What it says is approximately the same as the contents of the Governor's letter, without the preamble citing the Royal Command, for that prerogative would more naturally belong to the Governor alone. The handwriting is careless and given to marked flourishes.

The third letter, written on the same day as the second, was from the same persons. The handwriting looks almost the same, with identical flourishes. Its right half is lost. If we compare the contents of these two letters, it becomes more than tempting to think that the lost half of the part we have could be easily supplemented by filling in with passages from the second letter which have been here underlined. What we have in the third letter is identical with the second—word for word, except for just two or three which do not alter the sense—minus half a line at every regular pause. Whether this third letter went on to deal with anything else later it is quite impossible to say, for the last portion of it is also lost.

Bangkok, September 1937.



THE COLONIZATION OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES WITH SPECIAL
CONSIDERATION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE SELUNG.

by

DR. HUGO ADOLF BERNATZIK.

*Translated (with the addition of footnotes) by H. H. Prince
Devarwongs Varodaya.*

Ethnology is a science which has for its object the study of the peoples of this earth. It goes without saying that it is devoted above all to a study of the so-called primitive peoples, or rather, to peoples living in a state of nature. For these alone are able, at least to a certain extent, to clear up the obscurity of the history of the development of the human race, its associations and its migrations; for we here still find remnants of otherwise long since past ages. Hence we ethnologists see with regret that, in consequence of the penetration of European-American civilisation, these peoples are everywhere about to become extinct. Just to pick out one example, the fate of the Indians in America has become a byword.

In Africa, the oldest strata of human civilisation, even the highly civilised, have become either quite eradicated, or heavily decimated. I myself was in West Africa in the year 1930 in search of the Kassanga, a people about whom only the first Portuguese discoverers in the 17th century give any account. At that time they were a powerful nation and one could estimate at over 30,000 the number of their warriors. The district is still to-day called Kassamanco after their great King Kassa. After many months of search we found at last a few dilapidated huts, which were inhabited by 204 demoralised, half-civilised natives. It was all that was left of the once powerful tribe.

On the gigantic Australian continent, which to-day is inhabited by only about six million odd people, but which, without any special

improvement, could easily provide living room for far over thirty millions, the case is much sadder still. Of the many hundred thousand, perhaps even million members of the black population, whom the first discoverers found, only a little more than a few thousand are left.

In Tasmania the original inhabitants disappeared within a few decades so quickly and thoroughly that the Museum in Sydney to-day cannot so much as show a complete collection of the relics of the material culture of these natives. The British part of the Solomons is inhabited to-day by about 80,000 natives. A few decades ago, however, this number was many times as great. These sad examples may be continued in an endless succession.

A few months ago a thoughtless official said to me: We should extirpate all the peoples living in a state of nature, in order to make more room for us. These words are characteristic of a wide-spread erroneous idea. The extinction of the peoples living in a state of nature would mean not only an irretrievable loss to science, but also, irrespective of ethical motives, bring about serious economic injury to the colonists.

How are these peoples now to remain protected and preserved, and what rôle in this process falls to the science of ethnology?

In every colonisation the following fundamental rule is observed, namely, that every specialisation⁽¹⁾ has been at the expense of the capacity for adaptation. This holds good not only for ontogenesis,⁽²⁾ but also for phylogenesis.⁽³⁾ Hence if the environment of such a people were suddenly, either in a natural or artificial way, to be changed, it dies out without the cause becoming evident. In such cases one finds generally only a slight resistance against certain diseases, which to other peoples are not at all dangerous. This law of the failing capacity for adaptation, besides, holds good only for certain groups of peoples. It holds not only for all primitive peoples, such as hunters and gatherers, but also for peoples of a higher sphere of

(1) Biology.—Adaptation in the structure of an entire organism for life in particular surroundings, or for particular habits.

(2) —the history of the individual, development of a organised being as distinguished from phylogenesis.

(3) —a biological term applied to the evolution or genealogical history of a race or tribe.

civilisation, and above all for nomadic cattle-rearers, who in the course of time have extensively adapted themselves to nature and with whom one cannot, therefore, without serious injury, forcibly bridge over between to-day and to-morrow what would require thousands of years in their development. It does not hold good, however, for peoples of higher culture as, for instance, Indians, Tamils, Burmese, Siamese, Chinese, Japanese, etc. The relinquishment of the old culture and their assimilation of European-American forms of civilisation have brought on no such consequences with these peoples, because they have already extensively made themselves independent of nature in the course of a natural development, as it were, without losing their capacity for adaptation.

That it is, however, also possible to colonise specialised peoples without destroying them, Sweden offers an excellent example by way of evidence.

A few decades ago the Swedish Government was of the opinion that it was their mission to civilise and to settle the people of Lapland, who were leading a nomadic life with enormous herds of reindeers in northern Sweden. The Laplanders were with some difficulty prevailed upon to settle down, and the children were sent with the Swedish children to the village schools. These schools had the disadvantage that the children were excluded, just in the most impressionable age, from every task which devolved upon them as future breeders of reindeers. They learnt, it is true, a good many things, the knowledge of which is quite advantageous in Europe: they did not learn, however, to look after reindeers nor to throw a lasso, and they acquired no knowledge about the breeding of reindeers or anything else belonging to the life of a nomad. Many got accustomed to the settlements to such a degree and picked up in their intercourse with the settlers so much of the nature of the peasants, that they lost the desire to know anything more of the life of a reindeer and gave up their racial character. In spite of that it was not possible for them to adapt themselves suddenly to the new relationship and they died by the hundreds of tuberculosis, a disease from which they had remained fully spared during their wandering life.

And the reindeers, for the breeding of which a nomadic existence is presupposed, went astray and fell a victim in great numbers to the wolves and bears. Wide lands, which in consequence of their north-

ern situation or height lay outside arable limits, thus lost their unique inhabitants and the Swedish Government had soon to admit, that the farming of reindeers was the only possible way of using the waste land to the best advantage economically. From that consideration the policy with regard to the Laplanders was radically changed. Ethnologists established the conditions and presuppositions of life among the Laplanders, the settlement was forbidden and in the year 1925 new school regulations for the Laplanders were drawn up, which have become a foundation for the preservation of a nomadic race. The nomadic schools of Sweden, established on the basis of these regulations, can immediately be taken as a model. They are fully adapted to the life of the Laplanders. The children learn, besides reading, writing, calculating and domestic duties, everything that they must subsequently know as breeders of reindeers. Wherever any families of Laplanders camp for a long time, so-called "abode-schools" are erected. Besides, there are also the proper travelling schools, in which the instruction is given in tents and which change their stopping places continually with the wandering of big families. Carefully trained women teachers, who are always of Laplander origin, give lessons in seminaries of their own; for parents and children bestow only on a member of their own people the confidence that is so necessary for beneficial work. Besides, Swedes could hardly endure in the long run the primitive life of a peat cottage or a wandering tent.

In the "abode-schools" the children are put under the care of one of their own "housekeepers," whilst the parents move further into the mountains with their herds. The parents are glad that the children need not join in some of these hard wanderings and that they are in good keeping.

At the same time the Government has created an organisation in order to render possible for the Laplanders the fullest utilisation of the reindeers. To-day the Laplanders pay their taxes to the Government in reindeers and the skin and meat of many thousands of reindeers are exported to all parts of the world. The number of reindeers in Sweden has again multiplied in these few years, and the state of health and the standard of living of the Laplanders have vastly improved.

Such experiences have caused the English to employ professional ethnologists in certain colonies, who observe the Government's

measures with regard to the natives and give advice as to their expediency. By this means excellent results have been obtained.

I myself had the opportunity of observing a most interesting experiment in Papua under British-Australian suzerainty. Sir Hubert Murray, the Governor, desired to preserve the environment of the Motu, a race of the Melanesian coast. He tried to insert them, together with their environment, into a European-American sphere of civilisation. For this purpose he was induced to issue a regulation, which prohibited the natives from wearing European clothes and forbade the traders to provide them with European means of subsistence and comfort. This called forth a storm of indignation amongst traders as well as missionaries: the former were of the opinion that such regulations would ruin their business, whilst the latter asserted that the very scanty dress of the natives was immoral. Sir Hubert Murray, however, remained firm and up to to-day one can indeed see in Port Moresby, the chief town of Papua, by the side of the elegant automobiles of the white residents, the members of the Motu race wandering about the streets naked except for a tiny loin-cloth.

Perhaps it will now be asked, what is the use then of colonisation? The colonist needs markets for the sale of goods and it cannot be his mission to keep the people to be colonised from buying his wares. On the south coast of New Guinea the circumstances are quite different. The land is very sparsely settled, and an extraordinarily fertile soil renders possible the cultivation of all tropical, and in the mountains, of many useful European plants. The tropical damp climate, however, hinders members of the white race from doing physical work to any great extent. Sir Hubert Murray has now altogether renounced the creation of a market for the sale of goods, but in its place has preserved for the land the labour which it absolutely needed for the carrying on of its plantations. For, as a matter of fact, it may be asserted that in Papua the number of the Motu, if it has not actually increased, has at least not decreased. And if one considers the catastrophic extinction of all the older races of people in the South Seas and in the rest of Guinea, this should already be appreciated as a success.

I should like now to give an account of my observations concerning a people, whom the Siamese call Tshaonam, the Burmese, Selon or Selung, and the Malays, Orang Laut or Orang Louta; but they call

themselves Moken, and I shall therefore retain this name in my discussion of them.

Accompanied by my wife, my mission was to investigate ethnologically the Moken and to clear up the conflicting statements in the literature concerning their origin and migration. We visited for this purpose a great many islands, made an exhaustive study of the Moken and their language, investigated them psychologically according to the tests of development worked out by the Bühler Institute in Vienna and ensured a complete museum collection, illustrating their material culture. I should like now to single out from this study certain points which appear to me to be of special importance for the problem broached at the beginning of this paper.

The Moken inhabit the islands of the Mergui Archipelago, islands of the west coast of the Peninsula of Siam, and of the Malay Peninsula. Their number in Burma is given in the census of India of the year 1901 as 1,325, and in the census of 1911, as 1,984. The number in Siam is estimated by Credner at a few hundred. No estimate from the Malay Peninsula is known to me.

From old literature and from reports of English officials it is known that the Moken had to suffer from slave-hunts, which were organised chiefly by Malays, in the most breezy manner. Robbing the Moken seemed to be partly life's business, partly downright sport. An attempt at colonisation by the English was after a short time given up on account of its complete failure. An attempt on the part of the mission under the leadership of White, who brought over to Moulmein a few Moken in order to learn their language, also failed altogether. So it happens that even to-day the overwhelming part of the Mergui Archipelago is not administered by the British Government and numerous islands have not been once mapped out. In Government circles there is a general disinterestedness, which by reason of the experiences just described seems quite comprehensible. A high Government official once said to me: Why should I trouble myself with the Moken? Often have I tried to approach these people, but they have always run away from me.

On the other hand I was surprised at the great number of expensively furnished villas of the traders in Mergui, who owe their great wealth to the sea-products collected by the Moken. Herein appeared to me to lie a certain discrepancy with the experiences of the Government circles just described.

We equipped ourselves in Mergui, hired a motor sailing-boat and visited different islands, but soon, however, convinced ourselves that the statements about the difficulty of an approach were not exaggerated. Although we were accompanied by a Moken in the service of a Chinese trader, who served us as interpreter, we did not succeed in approaching the inmates of the various Moken vessels, which we several times sighted. In every case the natives took to flight and disappeared into the wide mangrove swamps. When we once, however, surprised twelve boats on the beach, which had no time to flee, the inmates left their boats in the lurch, seized their children and as much household-stuff as they could carry on the shoulders and disappeared into the thick jungle. Attempts for hours to get them to come back with the help of our interpreter remained quite ineffectual.

We determined, therefore, to try our luck with the help of one of the Malay traders who buy the sea-products collected by the Moken. On Lampi Island we at last succeeded in getting to know one of them.

There were there about a hundred and twenty Moken—the inmates of twenty-one boats who, as was their custom, had erected just before the rainy season temporary huts on the beach. The trader bought from them tin ore, which they extracted in the most primitive manner not far from the beach and in the shallows bordering the shore, and other products of the sea, which he received in exchange for opium and provisions, chiefly rice and sugar. With the help of this Malay it was now possible for us to convince the Moken of our harmlessness. When I had succeeded in curing a series of illnesses, the confidence of the Moken was obtained and soon, upon excursions extending further and further, we could seek out a greater number of temporary settlements and wandering groups and stay among them, without their ever thinking of taking to flight. Now on the basis of personal observation we could make the following statements. The insecurity with regard to their rights, by which the Moken, according to ancient records used to be threatened, has hardly changed even to-day. The reports of robberies from the fishermen, even to the theft of women and children, by Malays, Chinese and Burmese, were numerous. The singular fact that the Moken never defend themselves, and from olden times have possessed no defensive—not to mention offensive—weapons but seek their salvation

solely in flight, facilitates for the aggressors their rapacious activity and makes the Moken a coveted prey, to whom no mercy is shown. To our repeated questions why they did not bring these facts to the knowledge of the Anglo-Indian Government, who would certainly make amends, we received from the Moken the stereotyped answer: they would only put us in prison or sell us as slaves. Surprised, we investigated further how the people came to entertain this certainly unjust idea and it turned out that it was the traders who, through the spreading of such false rumours, were thus successfully preventing the Government from shaking their privileged position.

In explanation of this privileged position I must, to be sure, enter into particulars with regard to the foundation of this quite singular trade. Each trader first of all exerts himself to the extent of "marrying" a Moken maid whom he treats well and whom he trains as a sort of decoy-bird for the rest of her tribe, as the family-ties are the strongest ties of the Moken. Then he accustoms his new relatives to the pleasure of opium, which is not smoked but eaten, and tells them afterwards that they would die, if they were to try to free themselves from the vice. The Moken are very easily influenced. If one of them cannot obtain the drug and feels the clinical symptoms of deprivation, he begins already to think that he must die.

As soon as the Moken are accustomed to the pleasure of opium, they are defrauded by the trader in an absolutely incredible manner. Officially the Moken working for the trader as divers and collectors of birds-nests receive one rupee—about two Austrian shillings—a day. By far the greater part of the wages, however, is as a rule paid out in opium, for which the traders calculate ten to fifteen times the price which they themselves have to pay as duty in the opium shops licensed by the Government. Since, moreover, the Moken know no higher numerals, no calculating and no standard of values, it is easy for the traders to get into their hands really extraordinarily valuable products such as pearls and amber for a minute fraction of their value. The sources of the riches of the Mergui traders began to become clear to us.

We were further able to establish why the spreading of cholera is not unjustly attributed to the Moken. That is to say, when members of a community are taken ill with an epidemic such as cholera or small-pox, they, being animists, think that only speedy flight can protect them from the wrath of the gods who have been insulted.

The corpses are thrown in all haste on the beach, often in the neighbourhood of the rare fresh-water springs, and in wild flight the natives disperse over the whole region, taking with them the sick and thus preparing further death and destruction.

Moreover we were able to establish that the number of the Moken given in the census is not in accordance with the facts. This is probably because the Moken successfully concealed themselves from the census officials in their hiding places, into which the motor vessels of the Government could not follow them. I think that in Burmese territory alone one must reckon over 5,000 inhabitants. Still less can I believe in the increase of the population, as it appears from a comparison of the two numbers of the census. All signs point on the contrary to a decrease in the population. Already the last cholera epidemic alone claimed numerous victims and, in surveying the family history of our protégés, we met again and again with the stereotyped statement: Died a short time ago of cholera or fever. And the sight of many fresh skeletons on the burial grounds (the Moken even to-day still make use of platforms on remote islands to deposit their dead) makes this supposition appear to be the right one. This is all the more noteworthy as the vitality, the number of children and the state of health of the Moken in general are all that one could wish. Besides cholera and small-pox they have to suffer chiefly from scabies, ringworm, hook-worm and, not least, malaria. Now and then tropical ulcers, yaws and venereal diseases play a rôle, and other generally prevalent diseases, over which European medicine has now fully gained control. Even the most dangerous contagious diseases can be almost eliminated without difficulty by means of prophylactic inoculation.

It is furthermore important to recognise that the Moken, although they are dependent on the products of the sea, have no knowledge of highly developed fishery. Fishing-traps and fishing-fences are just as unknown to them as fish-hooks and every method of fish-preserving. They catch a small number of fish with harpoons or dive after them with fish-spears; for the rest, the various snails and mussels, which they collect during the ebbtide, and the tubers of roots and fruits of the forest form their chief source of nourishment.

The social organization is built upon the authority of a father. The unit is the big family, which for the time being lives in a boat. The inmates of from five to ten boats form a community. Only before

the beginning of the Monsoon storms do they unite into bigger groups in order to erect temporary huts on bays protected from the storm, which after a few months are again mostly abandoned. Each big family lives in such a hut for a time.

The personal liberty of the individual is extensively guaranteed. Some old people, especially the Shamans,⁽⁴⁾ enjoy a special popularity and considerable authority.

From the psychological examinations there was revealed an early and sound development of the sensitive faculty, an excellent control of the body as well as outstanding social qualities: on the other hand an inferior ability to learn, which is based in no wise on the failing of the imitative instinct, which on the contrary is well formed, but rather on their weak retentive power, which also comprises the lingual retentive power. The faculty to prove oneself practical almost completely failed, but not the perseverance to accomplish. Likewise the revelation of intellect and indeed the understanding of the association of sense and form, as in the use of tools, failed almost entirely. From further investigation there resulted the interesting fact that the majority of the Moken of both sexes were not able to pass the qualification test for admission to the schools. And the work done by the women was somewhat below that of the men. That means, in other words, that a great part of the Moken do not reach that qualification standard, which is presumed of a six year old European child attending the first class of a public elementary school.

From these ethnological and psychological facts we can clearly deduce the kind of colonisation which, for the Moken alone, appears to be appropriate and possible.

1. It would be well to leave out of consideration every attempt at a permanent settlement. For the giving of any instruction, regard should be paid to the wanderings of the Moken, which are dependent on the season.

2. As the Moken are amenable to treatment by European doctors and gladly submit to it, one should first consider the way to treat them. To begin with, those places where a primitive tin-mining

(4) Shamanism—Primarily, the primitive religion of the Ural-altaic peoples of Northern Asia and Europe, in which the unseen world of gods, demons and ancestral spirits is conceived to be responsive only to the Shamans, mediumistic magicians. Hence also, any similar religion, especially that of some American Indians, where the medicine-man performs the same function.

industry offers an easy approach to the Moken, should be made easy of access. In these places, also, measures could be taken against the false rumours spread by the traders. According to our experiences there is no difficulty in winning over the Shamans or chieftains, as soon as they see that the European doctor is able to cure diseases against which they themselves stand defenceless.

To carry out the work, a moderately sized motor boat with good medical equipment would suffice for the present. In a comparatively short time a number of assistants would be found amongst the Moken themselves, and it would not be long before the Moken would have lost their absolutely morbid fear of Government officials.

3. The sale of opium by the traders to the Moken should be entirely forbidden and the treatment of addicts should be introduced, which, owing to the fact that these people are easily influenced, should not be difficult. I, myself, made an interesting experiment. I asked one of the worst addicts of the Moken whether he wished to be free of his vice. When he joyfully answered in the affirmative, I gave him pastiles of common soda and described to him exactly how he had to reduce the daily dose of his opium. I warned him not to take any more of his drug, as my medicine might otherwise kill him. As a result the man entirely got rid of his bad habit of eating opium in an astonishingly short time and, so long as I could observe, suffered no relapse at all.

The sale of opium should be allowed only direct from Government agencies and only to such opium addicts as are to be found in the registers. The delivery of opium would have to be discontinued in the course of the year, as otherwise up till then the organisation for sale, mentioned below in section 5, would replace the depleted supplies.

4. As seen from the above psychological investigations, it would be quite futile to attempt to bring up and instruct the Moken according to European fashion. It would be, however, quite possible and advisable to teach the Moken how to improve their methods of fishing. The setting up of wheels and traps, they could easily learn, as well as the manufacture, and use of fishing-nets. It would be most desirable to teach the Moken further the manufacture of fish and shrimp pastes, as well as the preserving of fish by smoking and drying.

5. At the same time an organisation under Government control should superintend the sale of the products of the Moken. The carrying out of this work with the active participation of the Moken

would be all the more easy as the social organisation as well as the social qualities of the Moken are on the whole very conducive to the success of such an organisation.

The disposal of goods would offer no difficulties, as for almost all the products, such as edible birds-nests, pearls, amber, fish-pastes and dried fish the demand to-day greatly exceeds the supply.

Moreover it should be the object of the sales organisation to recover the loss which the British-Indian Government has suffered through the suppression of the revenue derived from the trade concessions in sea-products.

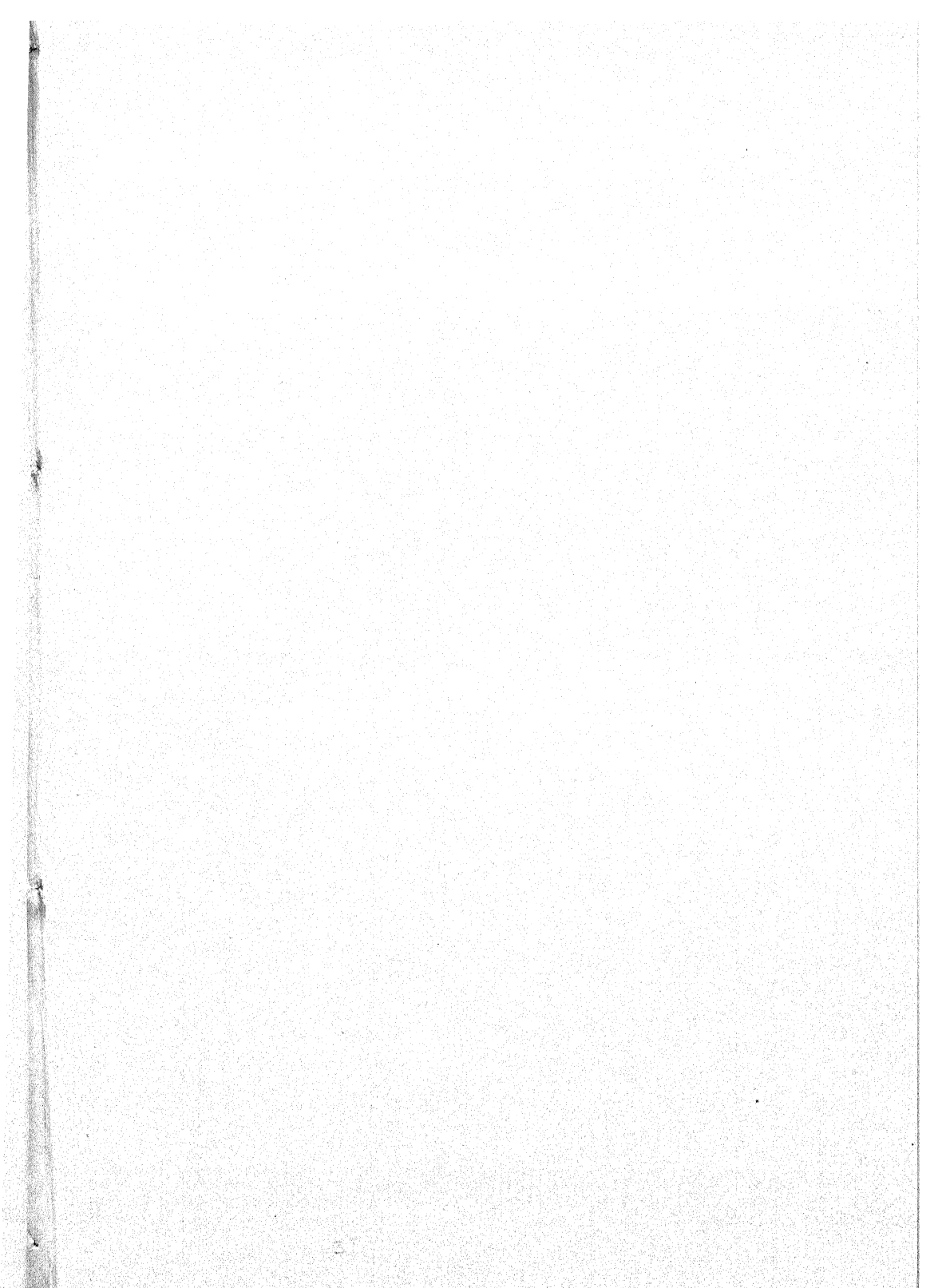
6. The last, and, if I may say so, obvious obligation would be the granting of State protection for the life and property of the Moken. The results of these efforts would be :—

a. The preservation of the inhabitants of an otherwise almost uninhabited, and for other peoples uninhabitable, territory.

b. The keeping within bounds of the severely endemic cholera epidemics in the neighbouring Burmese and Siamese frontier-territories.

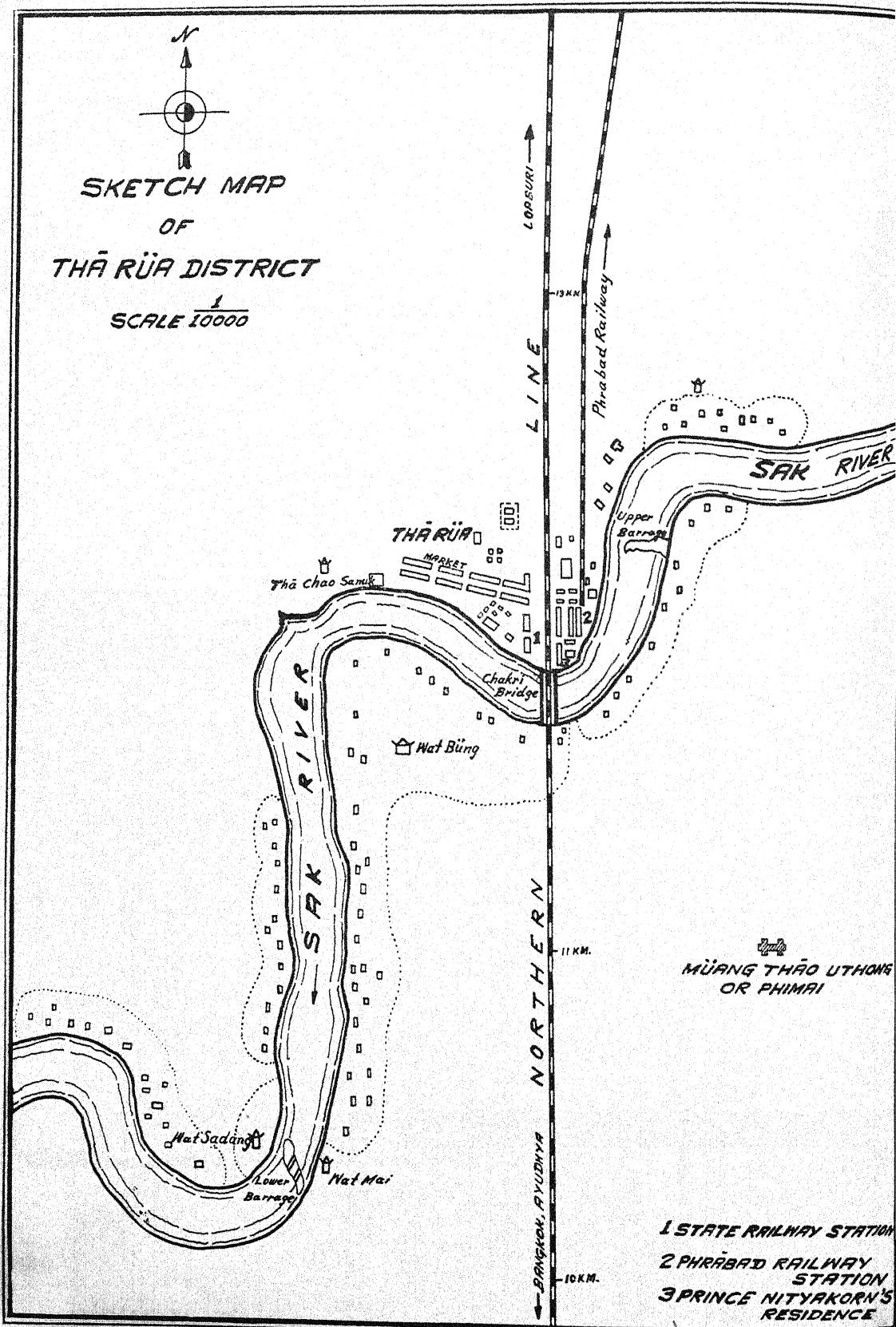
c. The utilisation of sea-products, for the acquisition of which the Moken as no other people appear peculiarly fitted in consequence of their physical and psychical disposition.

To sum up, the economic yields of a territory now almost worthless would be very considerably increased and at the same time the original inhabitants would experience a substantial improvement of their circumstances within the bounds of ethnological possibilities. The gain consequently would be for the good of the colonising as well as of the colonised peoples,—a principle, the observance of which alone not only justifies colonisation morally, but also guarantees its duration !



SKETCH MAP
OF
THĀ RŪA DISTRICT

SCALE $\frac{1}{10000}$



SOME ANTIQUITIES AT THĀ RŪA.

by

MAJOR ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

1. *Müang Thao Uthong or Phimai.*

During a visit made in July 1933 to my friend, Captain His Serene Highness Prince Nityakorn Voravan, Manager of the Phrabad Railway Co., at Thā Rūa (which really ought to be renamed Nakhon Noi) on the Sak river, he told me that, lying in the midst of the paddy-fields to the south of the river, was a place variously called by the local population Müang Thao Uthong or Phimai. As the Prince thought that there might be ruins of some ancient building in that place we accordingly crossed the river to the opposite (southern) bank and, after having walked over the paddy-fields in a S. S. E. direction for about a quarter of an hour we reached the above mentioned place which can be recognized from a distance by a tall tamarind tree (see photograph I).

The place was, at the time we visited it, overgrown with a maze of thorny scrub, very difficult to penetrate. Besides, the ground was simply swarming with large red ants and vicious looking scorpions.

However, by cutting the jungly growth a little here and there, we soon saw bits of laterite blocks cropping up and, after a cursory measuring up and rough sketch-mapping, I found out that what we had discovered was probably the fundament of a building, shaped roughly like a double cross and of quite a considerable size.

Returning the next day to Bangkok (9/7/33) I reported the find to His Highness Prince Bidyalongkorn, at that time still President of the Royal Institute of Literature, Archæology and Fine Arts, and suggested that the Archæological Service be put to the task of excavating the ruins. A fortnight later Prince Bidyalongkorn, accom-

panied by Luang Boribal Buribhand, Curator of the National Museum, Bangkok, and Mr. A. Forno, the Italian architect, attached to the Royal Institute, paid a visit to the ruins and it was decided to start excavation.

The rainy season, however, soon made such work impossible, and excavation was not begun in earnest until December 1933.

In January 1934, Prince Bidyalongkorn asked me to go up to Thā Rūa and make an inspection of the work of excavation so far carried out. This I did in company with Mr. Forno, and a few days after, I wrote a report to the Prince proposing that the excavations should be continued until at least the contours of the building became clear enough to make possible the drawing up of an exact plan.

The work of excavation was completed during February 1934, though the local people, to begin with, were not much inclined to supply the necessary number of hands, being afraid of the revenge of the *theparuks* or guardian spirits of the ruins.

The following description of the ruins is based partly on personal study and partly on the reports of Luang Boribal, Mr. Forno and Nai Tri Amatyakul (who was in charge of the actual excavations), and I hereby take the opportunity to tender my sincere thanks to His Serene Highness Prince Varnvaidyakorn Voravan, the present President of the Royal Institute, for having kindly allowed me to reproduce the plan of the ruins as drawn up by the Archæological Service. My thanks are also due to Luang Boribal for various valuable assistance rendered. The ruins (see plan) consist of a low earthen platform in the shape of a double cross orientated with its longitudinal axis lying from east to west. On this platform are laterite fundaments of six separate buildings (or rooms) of which the two largest occupy the longitudinal arm of the platform. The eastern, and longest, of these buildings has two cross branches of two rooms each, altogether four rooms. These arms branch off near the eastern extremity of this building which itself is also prolonged by a single smaller room.

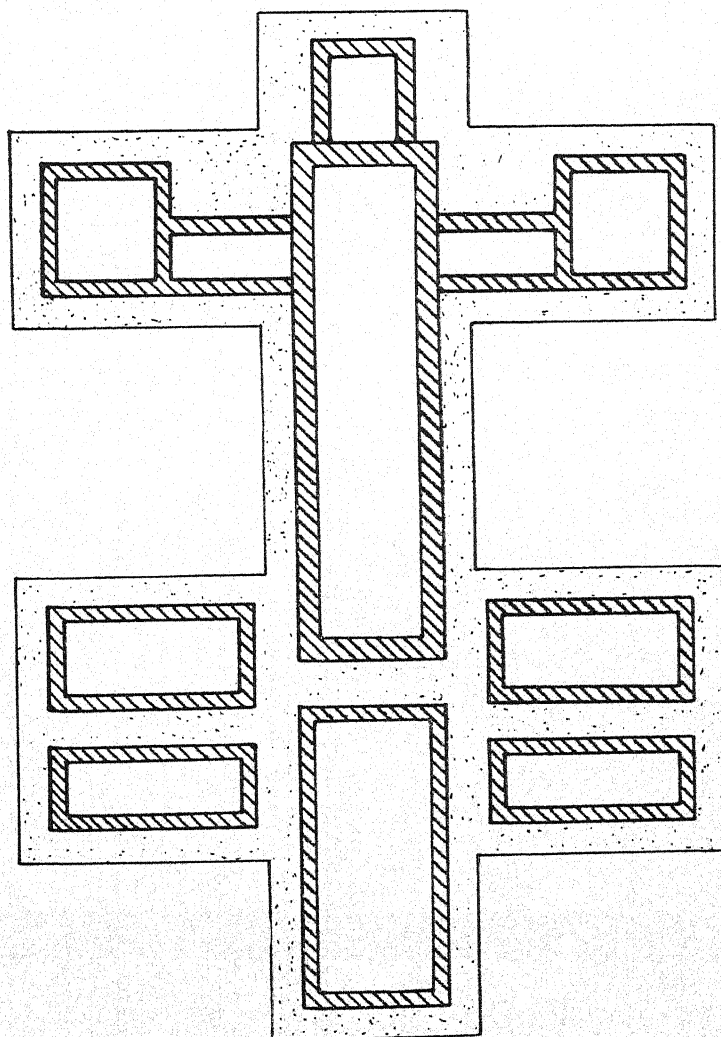
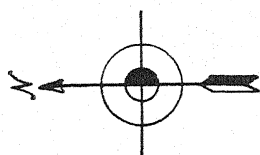
On the branches of the western cross of the platform are the fundaments of four smaller buildings which flank the second of the two large buildings, two on each side.

The platform was covered with a layer, 50 cm. thick, of laterite gravel bound together with a kind of lime, while the floors inside the various buildings and rooms seem to have been ordinary earthen

PLAN OF THE ANCIENT RUINS

TAMBOL THA CHAO SANUK, THA RUA DISTRICT, CHANGWAT AYUDHYA.

SCALE 1:400



WALL

PLATFORM COVERED
WITH LATERITE GRANEL

floors. The platform has a total length (E.-W.) of 86 metres while the two cross branches measure (N.-S.) 56 metres.

When excavation was started remains of the laterite walls of the fundaments were partly visible above ground, and partly hidden under the accumulated earth. By digging it was found that in some places the fundaments had a depth of 1.20 m., in others, 1.00 m. or even 0.50 m. to 0.60 m. only.

The ditches seen at present were dug in order to find the base of the walls, which necessitated in some cases the breaking up of the ground surface of the platform.

The walls are constructed of bricks of laterite bound together by irregular layers of lime mortar of a thickness varying from 3 cm. to 7 cm. The size of these laterite bricks is very uneven, the average being 0.50 m. by 0.25 m., having a thickness of 0.15 to 0.20 m. The laterite bricks are badly made and seem to contain too much earth. At present they are very friable.

In several places the corners of the buildings are not square, which also goes to show that the builders of this place were untrained amateurs or that the building was a temporary structure hastily erected.

As stated in my report (9/1/34) to H. H. Prince Bidyalongkorn, I am of the opinion that the builders were Thai, which is proved by the inferior make of the building materials and the employment of lime mortar for binding the bricks together. If the builders had been Khmer the laterite blocks would have been of a more even size and better finished, and no lime mortar would have been employed as binding material.

The buildings, therefore, seem to belong to that transitory stage when the Thai, after having gained the upper hand in the Menam Valley by the middle of the 13th century A.D., tried to copy the architectural style and building technique of their former masters, the Khmer,—as we know, without any great success.

The double cross form of the platform is well known from a great number of Cambodian temples.

Luang Boribal, the learned curator of the National Museum and Chief of the Archæological Service, is of the opinion that the buildings at Mûang Thao Uthong were never finished, and he may be right.

To my mind, however, these laterite walls may have been used as the sub-structure for one large or several smaller wooden buildings, what in Siamese is called a *tamnak*. The non-discovery of any tiles or débris of tiles does not disprove this assumption of mine, as the roofs may very well have been thatched with attap leaves or even with straw. This theory of mine does not exclude the possibility of the foundations having originally been made with the idea of building a temple on them. One must then assume that the work was stopped for some reason or other and afterwards the foundations were used for the constructions of a *tamnak*.

The name of (Müang) Thao Uthong no doubt stands for Phra Chao Uthong, later King Ramathibodi I, the founder of the first Ayudhyan dynasty and builder of the new capital of Dvaravati Sri Ayudhya in 1350 A. D.

It is well known that this king, during his wars of conquest and expansion, also conquered Lopburi, at that time governed by another Thai prince who was a vassal of Cambodia. King Uthong probably led his army partly over land, partly by river (the Nam Sak), up to the place where the ruins, called after him, are now situated. Here he could assemble his troops and prepare the advance on Lopburi—which would probably involve the conquest of the temple fortress, now called Khu Müang, (see *JSS. XXVII, I*)—protected against sudden attacks by the river along whose southern bank his vanguard would have been posted.

The assumed *tamnak* built of wood resting on the laterite sub-structure would then have been the king's headquarters during the war against Lopburi.

During the excavations, fragments of Sawankhalok ware were found, which shows that the building was erected at the earliest about A. D. 1300. We do not know the date of the conquest of Lopburi by King Uthong but it certainly took place not a few years prior to his founding of Ayudhya.

With regard to the other popular name of the ruins, Müang Phimai, the explanation is more difficult to give. The name Phimai is found, as far as I know, in two other places in the kingdom: first of all as that of the well known temple city in Changvad Nakhon Rajasima, and next within the confines of Changvad Khukhandh, Amphoe Huay Nüa, where there is a *tambol* called Phimai after a small Khmer village so named.



I. The ruins of Müang Thao Uthong or Phimai, seen from the west. *Photo by E. S.*



II. Laterite débris of one of the walls of Müang Thao Uthong. *Photo by E. S.*

The word Phimai is a corruption of Vimaya, the name of a god, or rather Bodhisattva, whose image was formerly placed in the central sanctuary (tower) of the Phimai temple about 1108 A. D. (vide *An excursion to Phimai* by Major Erik Seidenfaden, *JSS. XVII, 1, p. 10.*) As the cult of Bodhisattvas was very popular at certain periods in ancient Cambodia the name of the said village may have some connection with this cult. I have not yet been to that village myself, but it might be useful to investigate whether or not there are any temple ruins nearby.

Though the predominating form of Buddhism in ancient Dvaravati was that of Hinayana, the cult of Bodhisattvas may have been introduced here when the Khmer, about 1000 A. D., brought this old Môn kingdom under their rule. As already stated above, due to the amateurish manner of construction and the poor materials used, I do not believe that the ruins at Mŭang Thao Uthong or Phimai are of Khmer handiwork. There may, however, have stood on the same place a wooden sanctuary, hallowed by a Bodhisattva which had disappeared before King Uthong's *tamnak* was constructed.

The peasants in the region of Thā Rŭa were unable to give any explanations whatever with regard to the origin of the names of the ruins.

Lying on the right bank of the Sak river, not far below the Chakri railway bridge, spanning the river at Thā Rŭa, and in the same tambol as Mŭang Thao Uthong or Phimai, are a few remains of the former Royal palace at Thā Chao Sanuk.

In the golden days of Ayudhya, *the incomparable*, the Siamese Kings, when going on pilgrimage to the temple of the holy footprint of the Buddha in the hills at Phrabād, used to rest over night in their palace at Thā Chao Sanuk (The landing place of royal pleasure). The journey from Ayudhya to Thā Chao Sanuk was made by boat in one day (and a whole fleet of magnificent war canoes was commandeered for that purpose) with a halt at noon at Nakhon Luang, that miniature imitation of Angkor built by King Narayana (1657-1688). From Thā Chao Sanuk the royal procession went by elephant right up to the gilt *mandapa* containing the sacred footprint. Nowadays very little is left of the former royal rest house. A few scattered bricks is all that remains of a place once teeming with life and courtly splendour.

II. *The stone barrages in the Sak river.*

Some years ago Prince Nityakorn drew my attention to two peculiar submerged stone barrages, by local people called Saphan Hin, i. e. Stone Bridges, which cross the river from bank to bank in two different places. The first one is situated above the railway bridge at Thā Rūa at a distance from the latter of 500 m. (as measured along the northern or right bank of the river): the second is situated about 3 km. below the railway bridge spanning the river between the two temples, called Wat Sadang (right bank) and Wat Mai (left bank). These stone barrages are always submerged but it has nevertheless been possible to examine and study them in some detail.

The following measurements have been mostly taken by Prince Nityakorn to whom my sincere thanks are due for his interest and kind co-operation in many ways. The sketch map accompanying this note is also drawn by the Prince.

The upper barrage or submerged wall had originally a length of about 50 m. (from bank to bank of the river), but a gap 20 m. wide was blasted through the portion nearest to the right bank in 1917 by the Royal Irrigation Department. This was done in order to enable their steam launches to pass through when towing the cargo boats heavily loaded with materials for the construction of the great sluice works at Thā Luang. As the water level over the barrages during the months from February to April is often less than one metre it will be seen that the operation carried out by the R. I. D. was very necessary. There is also a gap of some 10 metres between the barrage and the left bank of the river. This seems, however, to be a natural one caused by the collapse of the original river bank. This gap is not navigable for launches, the water being too shallow.

The height of the barrage, measured from the river bottom to its top, is 1.40 m. and has an average breadth of 12.40 m. The barrage is constructed of large laterite blocks measuring 3.15 m. by 1.00 m. (the thickness is unknown, measurement having been omitted). In the middle of the barrage is a rectangular hole 5 m. by 3 m. and having a depth of 1.10 m. During the month of February 1935, when the water-level was particularly low, about 70 cm. only over the top of the barrage, I walked barefooted over a portion of it and by the help of my hands I convinced myself that this barrage was really man-made and not a natural rocky reef, as I could feel the regular joints between the blocks of which it is constructed.

The second lower barrage between Wat Sadang and Wat Mai is of about the same dimensions as the upper one, being also provided with a gap in the portion nearest the right river bank. This gap was blasted by the R. I. D. too in order to facilitate navigation during the dry season. Besides this gap there are three others made by the boat-people frequenting this river. These passages were made by removing the laterite blocks by hand power. Furthermore it must be noted that this lower barrage does not span the river in a straight, but in an oblique line.

We now come to the question:—Who were the builders of these barrages, which represent a no mean effort, and for what purpose were they built?

The reply to the first part of the question is that the Khmer were probably the builders as they excelled in laterite constructions and were not afraid of undertaking even difficult engineering work.

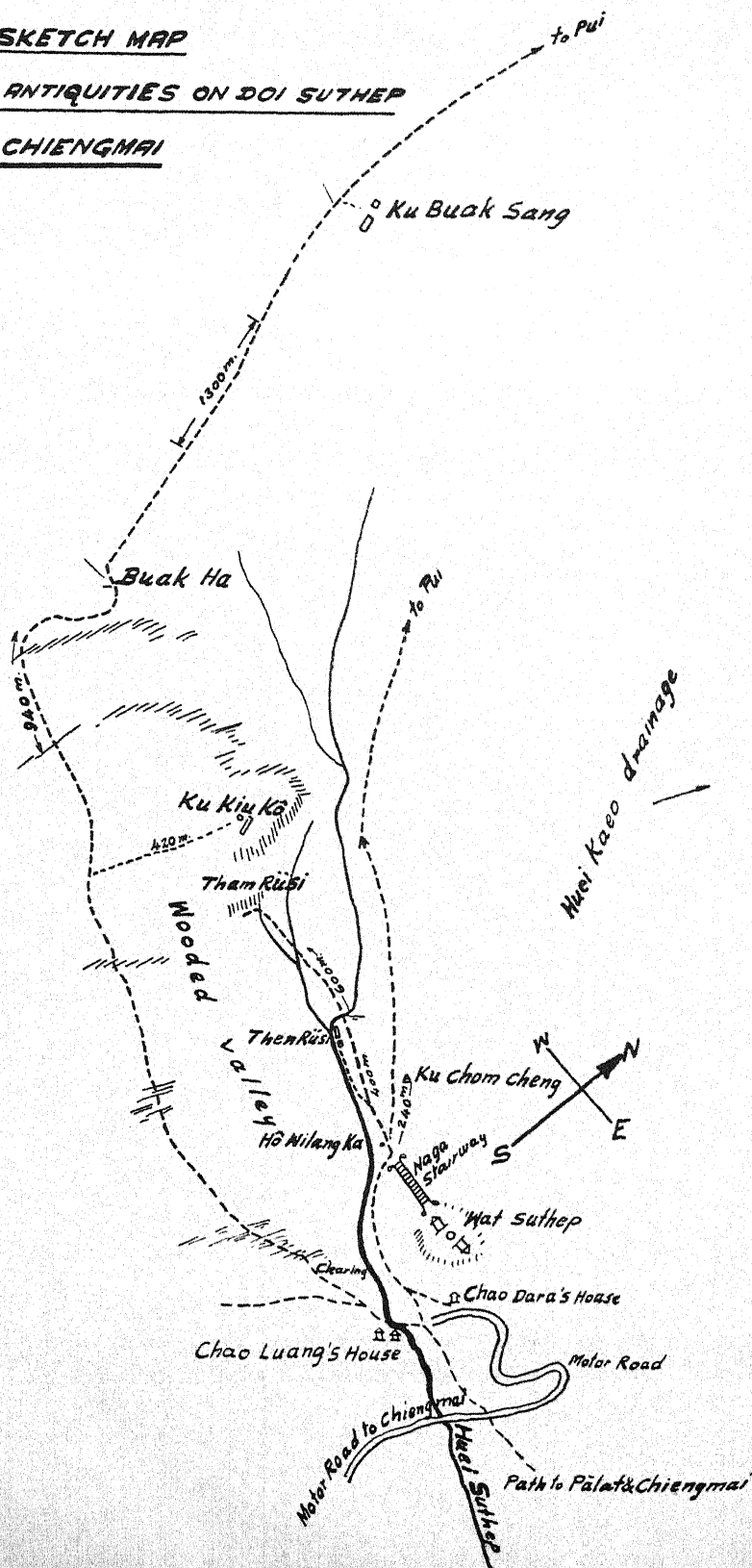
With regard to the second part of the question, the answer is more difficult to give.

If the barrages were destined for irrigation purposes, then their present height would have been far from sufficient, but the barrages may, of course, have had a super-construction of wood, a weir in fact, which would enable their constructors to lift the water level up to that required for irrigation purposes.

Another possible explanation is that as, at the time when the Khmer seized the power over the Menam plain, i. e. more than nine hundred years ago, the tide bringing the salt water with it went much higher up than is now the case, these barrages were constructed in order to keep the river water sweet during the dry season. I am indebted for this latter suggestion to Mr. C. D. Gee, Consulting Engineer to the Royal Irrigation Department.

Bangkok, May 1936.

SKETCH MAP
POSITION OF ANTIQUITIES ON DOI SUTHEP
CHIENGMAI



ANTIQUITIES ON DOI SUTHEP.

by

MAJOR ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

A few kilometres to the west of Chiengmai rises the fine forest clad hill, Doi Suthep, which, in the eyes of the northern Siamese, or Thai Yuan, is considered a very holy place, well worth a pilgrimage. The attraction for the pilgrims is the renowned temple, Wat Suthep, whose gilt chedi and white temple walls can be espied from afar on the broad Chiengmai plain.

According to the well-known chronicle called *Phongsavadan Yonok*, the chedi of Wat Suthep contains a holy relic of the Buddha, brought from Sukhothai to Chiengmai by the venerable monk, Sumana, in 1386 A. D., in which year the Suthep temple was also built. Large crowds of pilgrims flock to this temple every year during the hot season (March-April) in order to worship the holy relic. Among these pilgrims may be seen members of several picturesque hill tribes, besides Thai Yuan, Thai Yai (Shans) and even Thai, and other people, from the South.

The Suthep temple stands on a rocky ridge jutting out from the main hill on its eastern slope some 3,000 feet above sea level, the total height of the mountain being some 5,500 feet (1,676 metres).

The purpose of this article, however, is not to give a description or the history of Wat Suthep, but to mention some probably much older monuments, some of which have been recently found by Mr. E. W. Hutchinson of Chiengmai, and some others of which were examined by the writer of these lines during a visit to Doi Suthep made in December 1935.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Monsieur Camille Notton, the French Consul at Chiengmai, in his *Annales du Siam, chronique de Suvanna Khamdeng*, p. 7, mentions some of the *Thaens* and *chedis* to be described afterwards in this paper but he does not give any detailed description of any of these monuments.

The name of Doi Suthep is intimately connected with the mythical *rishi* (hermit) Vasudeva, who, according to legend, lived on this hill (in the Pali texts called Mount Uccupabbata), and who became the founder of Hariphunchai or Lamphun. It is also, and no doubt more rightly, known as the stronghold of the former Lawā Kings of the Me Ping plain during their wars against the Môn emigrants from Lopburi, when these, led by their Queen, Nang Chamathevi, founded the walled town of Hariphunchai in the latter part of the 7th century A. D.

Two roads running almost parallel lead out from Chiengmai to the foot of Doi Suthep. The northern is called the Huei Kaeo Road and has recently been extended right up the hill to the temple through the efforts of the former abbot of Wat Suan Dok, Phra Srivichai, who seems at present to be exercising a great influence over the minds of the northern Thai.

Near the former terminus of the Huei Kaeo Road, on the site of Vieng Chet Lin, lies the old Royal Pages School, now transformed into a veterinary station. Here the former head-master discovered some years ago a large rectangular tank (buried) made of laterite blocks. He had the tank excavated, filled with water and used it as a swimming pool for the pages. Mr. Hutchinson thinks that Vieng Chet Lin, must be the site of the reputed Lawā town at the foot of the hill, which opinion is confirmed by tradition and the somewhat confused narrative in the *Chronicle of Suvanna Khamdeng*. According to this it seems for some time to have been the common capital of a colony of emigrant Thai and the neighbouring Lawā or Lua who were under the orders of a certain Phraya Wiwo. Later on the Lawā King, Chao Vilangka, resided here during his war against Queen Chamathevi and the Môn immigrants of Lamphun. As stated above, a road has now been constructed from the base of the hill up to the foot of the ridge on which the Suthep temple stands. This road, though somewhat rough and primitive, can be used by motor cars during the dry season. From the back of the temple hill a valley runs westwards for about two kilometres. This valley is watered by a sparkling brook called Huei Suthep. According to a vague tradition a Lawā town in olden days occupied the lower part of the valley where now is a clearing (see attached sketch map), and the débris of burnt bricks, found here and there along the banks of this brook and in other places too, should represent remains of buildings.

It seems, however, much more likely, as is also suggested by Mr. Hutchinson, that these bricks represent remains of former kilns, and that the bricks used for building the temple were made here where the necessary material, an excellent clay, is found in abundance. The look of the valley shows that there were one or more small paddy fields here in former days.

A long brick-built stairway, flanked by the sinuous bodies of Nagas (serpents), leads down from the back of the temple to the northern rim of the valley. At a distance of about a hundred paces from the foot of the Naga stairway, and in a straight line from the same, I examined (December 1935) a mound which by one learned European resident in Chiangmai has been called a *Royal Lawā tomb*. Digging revealed nothing, however.

From this point two well defined paths issue, a lower one on the left hand, which runs westwards, leading ultimately to the so-called Tham Rūsi, of which more anon, and an upper path branching off on the right hand which, climbing the hill in a north-westerly direction, finally brings one to the very top of the hill, called by the local people the *Pui*.

Following the lower path, which runs along the bubbling Suthep brook, one soon sees, on the left hand and at a distance of about 30 metres from the path, what is called Hô Vilangka. This consists of two small spirit shrines, now in a deplorable state of disrepair. A few rotten pieces of wood and some enamelled tin plates are all that is now left of a former Sān Chāo Thi (shrine of the local guardian spirit), which, seemingly, is no longer held in honour. Still its name shows the connection with the otherwise long forgotten Lawā King.

Continuing along the path to Tham Rūsi, an ill-defined track takes off on the left and follows the stream to a point 400 metres from the foot of the Naga stairway. Here the first antiquities are encountered. About sixty metres below the path the slope on the left bank of the stream is terraced in two places. The two terraces are on the same plane and are $15\frac{1}{2}$ m. apart.

In both cases the face of the terrace is composed of stones and boulders piled up to form a wall 80 cm. high facing the stream. The interior appears to be filled up with earth, but the forest growth is too dense to permit exploration in the centre.

The largest terrace is 20 m. long and from 4 m. to 5 m. deep. The smaller one, east of it, is 8 m. long and about 3 m. deep.

The local name for these terraces is given as Thaen Rūsi.

When continuing along the path for another 400 metres one reaches, at the bottom of the valley, a rock shelter formed by the overhanging of the rocky cliff face, producing a shelter $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. deep, at the base of which is a further cavity $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. deep.

Running water is at hand, but the cliff forms a cul-de-sac to the path from the outside world, so that the shelter would only be attractive to a person desiring isolation from his fellow men.

It therefore bears its name Tham Rüsi, or the hermit's cave, with reason. And as a matter of fact almost every year the cave is inhabited for a shorter or longer time by a Buddhist monk who retires here for meditation in the sylvan peace on the precepts of the Great Teacher. It truly is a most enchanting and idyllic place, fresh and cool with the shadow of large trees, and the gushing waters of the little brook falling down in cascades over big moss-grown boulders.

Some way below Thaen Rüsi in an E. N. E. direction, at a distance of 240 metres up the slope, stands a ruined stupa. It is close to the path which runs up the ridge dividing Huei Suthep from the Huei Kaeo drainage, leading ultimately to the Pui (the top of the hill), and at a distance of 250 metres from the foot of the Naga stairway by this path.

The stupa or chedi, called Ku Chôm Chaeng, is at the west end of a vaguely defined platform of earth (20 m. long from the centre of the stupa to the platform's eastern extremity). In the centre of the platform is an excavation surrounded with heaps of bricks, which appear to mark the site of a second and smaller stupa, now no more.

The base of the western stupa is roughly $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. \times $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. near the ground; its height is about 2.85 m. and at this level the dimensions have tapered to 2.80 m. \times 2.60 m., which are roughly those of the central body of the stupa. This consists of three *steps* each 45 cm. high, with two well preserved *fillets* in cement still extant between them. Above them are the beginnings of the ruined dome.

The lower *step* of the main body is roughly as follows:—

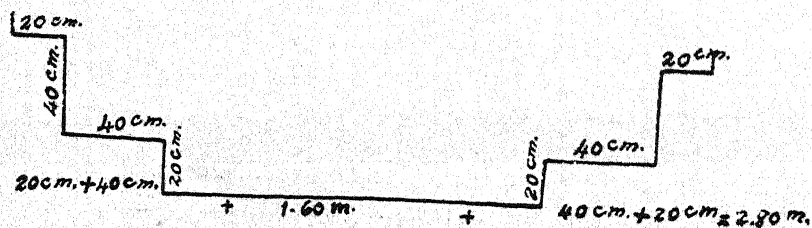




Photo by E. W. H.
Ku Chôm Cheng (South face).

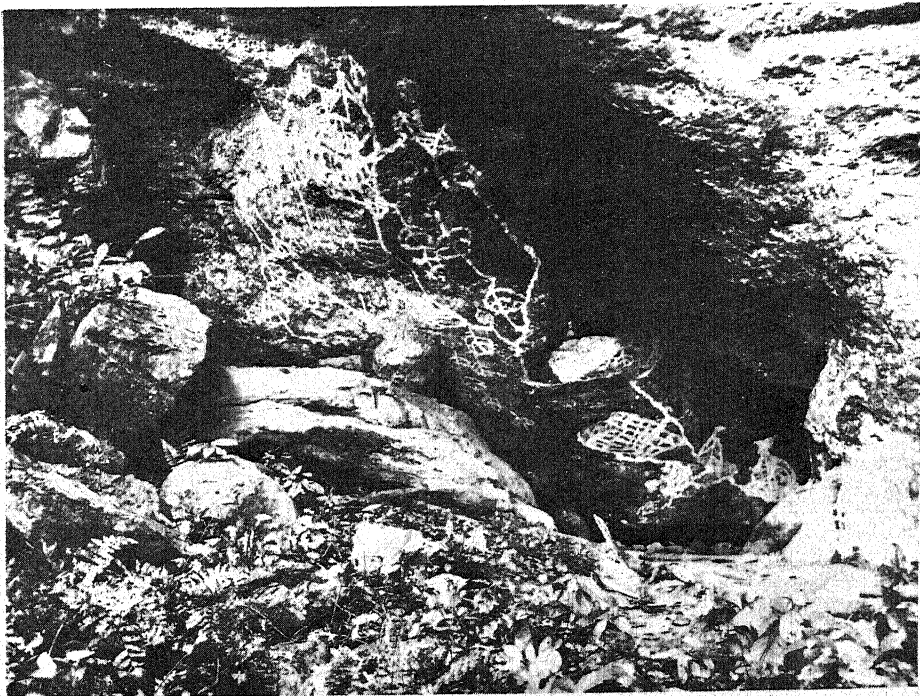


Photo by E. W. H.
Tham Rüsi.

The interior of the stupa has been much destroyed by the hands of impious treasure hunters.

It may be added that close to the path and quite near the stupas is a brick-lined well.

By following a path which starts from the summer residence of the Chao Luang (the reigning prince of Chiangmai), and which climbs the hill in a west-south-westerly direction (see map), one reaches, after a march of approximately two kilometres, the place called Buak Ha.

From a point on this path 940 m. below Buak Ha, a straight line N. N. E. leads in 420 m. to a ruin near the extremity of a spur above a precipice. The ruin, named Ku Khiu Khô, consists of a terrace of piled stone, 20 m. \times 50 m., similar to Thaen Rüsi. In its centre rise the remains of a small stupa built of rough unfashioned stones, similar to that of the terraces. On the north side only are traces of one or more rows of bricks let into the stone.

At a point 1,300 m. north of Buak Ha on the path to the summit of the hill, and at 50 m. east of the path are the ruins of a stupa and the brick foundations of a rectangular building measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ m. \times 6 m. called Ku Buak Sang. A space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. separates the stupa on the north from the brick foundations of the building on the south.

The stupa measures about $6\frac{3}{4}$ m. at its base. It is built partly of brick, and the bricks are double the thickness of those in the foundations, which are all that remain of the building to the south of the stupa. The principal constituent, however, is dried laterite, *sila laeng*, in blocks of roughly $38 \times 19 \times 9$ cm.

The base is composed of six layers of brick, upon which repose six perpendicular layers of laterite blocks.

The top layer forms a shelf 70 cm. deep behind which rise six more layers of laterite blocks, forming the second *step* of the pyramid. The third *step* rises from a narrower shelf, and only two to three layers of laterite blocks composing it remain, mingled with some bricks. It is not evident whether the pyramid tapered to a point or was crowned with a dome. Its centre has been excavated to below ground level, presumably by treasure hunters.

The fact that the nearest water to both Ku Buak Sang and Ku Khiu Khô is in the Buak Ha region lends significance to the fact that Buak Ha is equidistant between them, approximately 1,300 m.

My attention to the ruins at Buak Ha and Buak Sang was directed by Mr. Hutchinson, but I have not visited them myself. The other

places have, however, been visited by me. With regard to the description of all these places the writer has followed the notes so kindly placed at his disposal by Mr. Hutchinson who also took all the photographs and made the sketch map accompanying this article.

The question is now:— Who were the earliest occupants of the rock shelter, Tham Rūsi, and who were the builders of the stone terraces and the stupas?

The Tham Rūsi is not a real cave but only a rock shelter, with sufficient space for at most a couple of persons, and as such it can hardly have been a dwelling for primitive man of the stone age. It may, however, have been used by hermits both in Buddhist and pre-Buddhist times. Did the famous Vasudeva live here, if he ever existed?

The brick built ruins of the two stupas called Ku Chôm Chaeng are most probably Thai handiwork, and may not be older than the original stupa of the Suthep temple. It represents, anyhow, a style which is prior to the Burmese occupation in the 16th century A. D.

With regard to the stone terraces—Thaen Rūsi—and the two stupa-like buildings at Buak Ha and Buak Sang, the case is more difficult. Were their builders Thai, Môn or even Lawā? The find of one of the characteristic small Lawā clay pipes at Buak Ha may point to a former Lawā occupation there. It is more than probable that the Lawā held the Doi Suthep for a long time after the Môn colonists from Lamphun had conquered the vast river plain. We also know that the Lawā were gradually united with the Môn, their first cousins by the way, by intermarriage—the Lawā girls, when newly washed, are quite comely—and finally, as the chronicle says, Lawā and Môn became one people, with the exception of some few Lawā clans living far away in the inaccessible hills. By doing so the Lawā naturally adopted the Buddhist religion too. The above mentioned stone monuments, including those where bricks are mixed with the stone as building material, may thus be Lawā handiwork. Such clumsy attempts to copy the architecture of a higher standing people are found elsewhere in Indochina; for instance, in the Bassac province of French Laos there is the so-called Wat Phu Asā, built by Khā people,⁽²⁾ and in Amphœ Pakthongchai, Changvad Nakhon Rajasima, there is a similar building complex called Prasad Champa Thong.

(2) *Inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge* par le Commandant E. Lunet de Lajonquière, tome II, pp. 70-72.



Photo by E. W. H.

Ku Khiu Khô.
(View of stupa from North-East).



Photo by E. W. H.

Ku Buak Sang (South face).

most likely also built by primitive people.⁽³⁾ These are efforts, as Major Lunet de Lajonquière says, *d'un sauvage jouant au civilisé*.

Monsieur Notton in his *Chronique de Savanna Khamdeng*, already quoted on the first page of this paper, opines that the so-called Thaen Rüsi are Lawā tombs. I think, however, that the learned Consul is wrong here. The Lawā tombs are always built in the form of a tumulus. A great number of such ancient Lawā tombs are still seen to-day in the Mae Hong Sôn district. The *Thaen* were no doubt real altars for sacrifices to the spirits.

A careful search for cultural remains on all the above mentioned sites should be undertaken, as such an undertaking would surely result in finds that would prove helpful for the further study of the origin of these monuments.

Bangkok, April 1936.

⁽³⁾ *Complément à l'inventaire descriptif des monuments du Cambodge* par le Commandant E. Seidenfaden, pp. 30-31.



Big Stone (Group C.) *Photo by E. S. E.*

MEGALITHS IN BAYAB.

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. C. L. Miles, of the forest staff of The Borneo Company, Ltd., when travelling two years ago in the hilly country of the Me Ping rapids—the Saliang forest (ป่าสะเลียม)—between Chiengmai and Raheng, observed that some of the big stones, or rather, segments of rock, by the wayside appeared to have been planted upright in the soil in groups reminiscent of the megaliths and fairy-rings of Europe. Three groups were observed by him along the foot-path from Müang Hôt (เมืองฮอต) to Müang Tün (เมืองตุน), a short distance east of the point where it crosses the Huei Oom Pât (ห้วยอุมผาด). That crossing happens to be about one kilometre above the reputed site of a former Lawa settlement on the banks of the Huei Oom Pât, some 16 to 19 km. above the mouth of that stream.

The easiest way to visit the Stones is to take a boat along the Me Ping river as far as the mouth of the Oom Pât stream, at which place there are a few fishermen's huts on the west bank of the Me Ping—a short distance below Kô (ก่อ), but above the Company's bungalow at the mouth of the Saliang stream. From the mouth of the Oom Pât stream a path follows up it, past a small village, and then turns off in a north-eastward direction to join the track from Müang Hôt to Tün. On reaching this track the traveller turns west, and after walking in the direction of Tün for about one kilometre he encounters two groups of stones, about eleven metres apart—(groups A. & B.): another half kilometre brings him to the large group, (C.), which contains the biggest stone: yet another half kilometre brings him to the Oom Pât stream.

Mr. Miles left Siam before he had an opportunity to examine his discovery in detail. This task he abandoned to his successor, Mr. E. S. Ennals, who visited Oom Pât this year in the dry season. Mr. Ennals has communicated to me the notes, measurements and photographs which he took during his visit, and which he has authorised me to make public. This article is composed exclusively of information received from him, a rough draft of it having been submitted to him and received his approval. I trust he will accept this acknowledgement of his kindness.

Mr. Ennals noticed that the loose rocks and boulders which abound in the neighbourhood of the stones had been cleared away in their immediate vicinity; the stones themselves appear to have been broken off from these rocks and boulders.

The most northerly group, (A), is in the form of an ellipse measuring 8'-6" in a straight line from the northernmost standing stone, which is 1'-9" high by 1'-1" broad, to the southernmost standing stone, which is 2'-0" high by 1'-0" broad. There are no stones west of these two, but between them on the eastern side, and forming an ellipse with them, is a standing stone, 2'-3" high by 1'-1" broad: the distance from it to the northernmost stone is four feet, and to the southernmost stone six feet: between it and the latter is a recumbent stone, 3'-5" \times 1'-2". Behind these four stones are scattered many smaller ones, forming a background to them.

Group B. is only distant 37' to the south of Group A. It consists of three stones:— first, and southernmost, a recumbent stone, 2'-1" \times 1'-6": in the middle, five and a half feet south of it, a standing stone, 2'-1" high by 1'-2": four feet north of it, another standing stone, 1'-11" high by 7".

Group C., the largest group, is half a kilometre west of groups A. and B. It consists of an elliptical ring measuring 79ft. from east to west, and 60ft. from north to south. On the south side of the ellipse are four recumbent stones only, two on its south-east edge, and two on its south-west edge. Towards the east end of the ellipse is a group of six stones, two standing, of which the largest measures 5'-6" high, 2'-0" broad, and 5" thick.

This standing stone is surrounded by four recumbent stones. The other standing stone is 26ft south and 9ft east of it. The north-east side of the ellipse contains four recumbent stones: the north-west

Group B.

Group A.

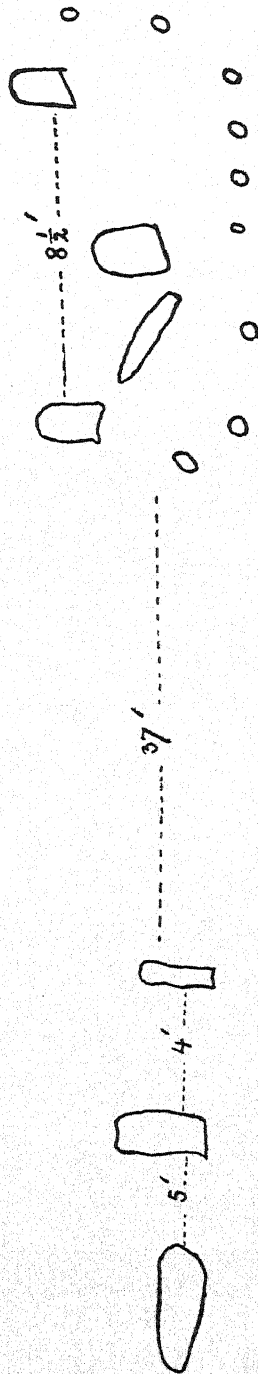
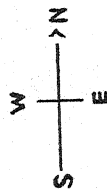


Photo 'B' Taken from
this point - 35' distant.

Plan of Megaliths, groups A. and B.

Group C.

23 stones.

(*) the big standing stone.

5½' high.

2' broad.

— 5" thick.

E-W, about 79 ft.

N-S, about 60 ft.



Plan of Megaliths, group C.

side, eight recumbent and one standing stone. Group C. thus contains a total of twenty-three stones.

The presence of these stones in desolate country, far removed from human habitation, is likely to attract the attention of the rare passer-by, and to puzzle him to find any explanation of their significance.

A. and B. groups, on account of their proximity, may perhaps be regarded as a single group; but the existence of an even larger group, C., half a kilometre away suggests that there was some connection between groups A. B. and C. Since the nearest water is half a kilometre from group C. and double that distance from A. and B. it is doubtful, to say the least of it, if they ever marked the site of human habitation: at the same time, the relative proximity of a former Lawa settlement on the bank of the Oom Pāt stream suggests the possibility that the Lawa were responsible for the stones. It is true that the Lawa recently examined at Bô Luang, between Hôt and Me Sarieng, do not make use of megaliths, either to mark their burial grounds or their places of animistic worship; but those Lawa differ in language from the Lawa of the Me Lao valley in Chiengrai province, as well as from those of Oom Pai (Umpai) in the Me Sarieng drainage N. W. of Bô Luang, who have been visited this year by the Rev. John Holladay, who is preparing a memorandum of his visit.

Further light may be thrown upon this interesting subject if and when an opportunity occurs for a systematic investigation of the sites of reputed Lawa settlements both in Oom Pāt, and lower down the Me Ping rapids at Oom Khoi (อุ่มค้อ)—Oom (อุ่ม) being a Lawa word for water, just as it is in the Khamu speech.

Meanwhile, hearty thanks are due to Mr. E. S. Ennals for his careful observations.

Chiengmai, 6th June, 1938.

साम स शुक्र 11:30

THE WORD JETAVAN IN OLD SIAMESE.

by

H. H. PRINCE DHANI NIVAT.

Some years ago a friend asked me about the meaning of a word in the *Corpus* of Laws, of which I was at a loss to give a satisfactory explanation. The word in question is *Phra Jetavan* in the preamble to the old Law of Inheritance. The passage runs thus:—

In 2155, year of the hog, on Thursday the 11th of the waxing moon of the month of Jettha (about June), His Majesty Ekathosaroth Isuen Boromanath Boromabopit, possessor of the tenfold virtues of Kingship, endowed with a boundless accumulation of majesty, a prospective Buddha, a great and righteous sovereign, was present in the golden pavilion to the north of the great *Vihara* in the monastery of Jaya Vardhanaram, presiding over the ceremony of dedicating the great *Vihara*, the *Jetavan* and the great Reliquary, which had been built to perpetuate the Master's Teaching for all time.

Now, the monarch referred to is usually known as Phrachao Prasat Thong, who from the office of Kalahom had usurped the Crown and was father to King Narai. In standard histories the construction of this monastery is recorded at some length as having been undertaken when the King came to the Throne, without however giving a definite date for the commencement or the dedication of the work. The date 2155 is of course impossible and may be considered as an error of later recension. My experience in verifying the dates in old documents has convinced me that the zodiacal year usually remains correct when the numerical reckoning is tampered with. Supposing therefore that the year of the hog is correct, we have but to find out the dates, in the Buddhist Era, of the years of the hog in that King's

reign. Starting with the King's accession in B. E. 2172, as has been correctly revised by Phya Indra Montri (JSS. Vol. XXX pt 2, page 167), the first year of the hog we meet with would be B. E. 2178, which corresponds to A. D. 1635. This was most probably the year in which the dedication of the monastery and the promulgation of the Law on Inheritance took place, for the only other year of the hog in this reign would be 1647 which is much too late because the erection of the monastery was the first act of the usurper after his coronation. This, however, is but a digression for we are really concerned with the meaning of the word *jetavan*.

According to the *Royal Autograph History of Siam*, the monastery was built on the private property of the King's mother, and consisted of a great Reliquary surrounded by a cloister with a *meru* on each of the cardinal points of the compass, as well as an *ubosoth*, a *vihāra*, a *kān parien* and cells for the monks. The *History* of Prince Paramanujit, from which the former drew its inspiration, gives the same account. None of them, nor any other source as yet available, mentions a *jetavan*.

Now, *Jetavan* was originally the name of a certain precinct in Sāvatti in ancient India, a grove perhaps, where the Buddha was often in residence. The name has been adopted in Ceylon, at the medieval capital of Anurādhapura, for a monastery. It was similarly adopted in some of the old capitals of Siam. Ayudhya, indeed, does not seem to have had a monastery of *Jetavan*. The name was, however, given to Wat Po when that monastery was rebuilt by King Rama I. of the Chakri dynasty in Bangkok.

But the way in which the name is used in the Law preamble quoted above is hardly similar to those in the cases just cited. In the Law, it was not a proper name. Rather was it that of some kind of edifice. The question, therefore, is as to which kind of an edifice used to go by the name *jetavan*.

Let us now compare the accounts as given in the Law preamble with that of the standard histories. The preamble enumerates three edifices as having been dedicated: the great Reliquary, the *Jetavan*, and the *Vihāra*. The histories enumerate four main items, namely an *ubosoth*, a *vihāra*, and a *kān parien* in addition to the great Reliquary. While it is just possible that the authors of the histories, writing as they did without being able to be constantly on the spot, were merely using stock phrases to describe a big monastery with a Reliquary, it is also

not unlikely that what they were calling an *ubosoth* might well have corresponded to what the Law preamble called Phra Jetavan, for after identifying the Reliquary and the *vihāra* in both sources and deleting the *kān parien* in the histories as being part of the stock phrase *vihāra kān parien* we have left on the one hand the *Jetavan* and on the other the *ubosoth*. For me the point remained thus far unsolved, until on one of my inspection tours of the river districts six or seven years ago I came across the model of an edifice about two feet long and one foot high lying about the court of a Mon monastery a little to the north of the town of Pathum on the left bank of the Menam Chao Phya. Little suspecting any real enlightenment, for I half imagined that it was a sort of a shrine to the Phra Phum usually to be found in the compounds of private houses, although this model was not made of wood as these shrines usually are, I asked the old Mon incumbent of the monastery. To my surprise I was told that it was a *jetavan*, which he pronounced *jetaworn*. He did not know exactly himself what the stone model was meant to signify, but he had an idea that it was a replica of the famous hall at Savatthi where the Master was wont to preach on so many occasions. The incumbent seemed to have lost sight of the real nature of the original *Jetavan*; and instead of a grove he probably imagined it to have been a regular *wat* as we know it nowadays with perhaps a central assembly hall, or *ubosoth*. This in fact might have been in the mind of the incumbent when he said that it might have been a replica of the Master's preaching hall. At this stage, it seemed, we had got something a little more definite, *Jetavan* was *probably* the name of a class of edifices in ecclesiastical architecture; and its venue was more than likely the Mon country and its people.

My attempt at an interpretation of this word remained stagnant for some six years, until I was privileged to read an account of his trip to Burma in 1936 by His Royal Highness Prince Damrong. This account is highly interesting especially on historical grounds, and is most detailed. Unfortunately it is not accessible to the public for it has not yet been published, and I have to record my gratitude to the royal author for letting me read it and make this reference to it. The Prince says that within the royal palace at Mandalay there is a building where the images of the Buddha were kept, and the name of this building was Zedawan, the Burmese counterpart of the word *Jetavan*. On further reference to the *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*

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and the Shan States (J. G. Scott, 1900, Part II Vol. II, p. 88) and F. O. Oertel's *plan of the Mandalay Palace Stockade and Buildings* which faces page 176 of that Gazetteer, I found that this building contained *figures of royal ancestors* and also the Hansa throne. The *figures of royal ancestors* were doubtless images of the Buddha cast to perpetuate the memory of individual monarchs who had passed away, such as the images in the Chapel Royal of the Emerald Buddha in Bangkok, called respectively Phra Buddha Yodfa and Phra Buddha Loesla. This opinion has been accepted and confirmed by Prince Damrong. Thus far it would seem that the word *jetavan* is *more likely* than before to have signified a sanctuary where effigies of the Buddha were housed.

Before proceeding further with my arguments I hope I may be allowed to digress a little to explain the custom of casting images of the Buddha to perpetuate the memory of sovereigns who have passed away. We know for certain that in honour of his royal predecessors on the Throne, King Rama III erected, in 1843, the two standing effigies of the Buddha in the Chapel Royal and named them as above stated. These names came to be adopted posthumously for each of those two Kings. We know also (*Phra Rāja Kamnod Mai*, §40, dated 1785) that in Ayudhya there used to be an image called Phra Jettha Bidorn (i. e. Jettha Pitara, or the Venerable Ancestor) which occupied a place of honour in the ceremony of taking the Water of Allegiance. This image was said (op. cit.) to be one of Phra Rāmā-dhipati, the monarch, one is led to presume, who founded Ayudhya. In the ancient Khmer inscriptions we find that almost every king was given a posthumous name signifying his connection with whichever sectarian deity he might have been inclined to favour. Thus, Yaśovarman was posthumously known as Parama Sivaloka from his having been a Sivaite; Sūryavarman I, a Mahayanist, was Parama Nirvāṇapada; and Sūryavarman II, a Vishnuite, received the name of Parama Vishnuloka. One might suppose, although concrete proofs are lacking, that the memory of these monarchs was perpetuated by effigies of Siva, Vishnu or Avalokitesvara in accordance with whichever cult they preferred. Even a Buddhist King could be reconciled to the cult of the Devaraja or Divine Sovereignty, for in Mahayanist Buddhism there was plenty of room for deities and their incarnations. Jayavarman VII, whose fame as a tireless builder is established, act-

ually has such an image to his honour, though his posthumous name does not seem to be known.

Thus therefore we are again tempted to assume that the cult of the Devaraja which identified the sovereign with an incarnation of the Deity might have had some connection with the custom by which the posthumous effigy of a monarch was made in the traditional form of that deity or incarnation which he individually favoured during his lifetime. This effigy received the name by which that particular monarch came to be known thereafter. Siam, and perhaps Burma too, adopted the custom, but modified it to suit her form of Buddhism in which there was no room for deities or their incarnations. And so it took the form of an effigy of the Buddha! This custom may be said to have been discontinued by King Mongkut in comparatively recent years.

Having thus presumed upon my readers' patience, I shall now resume the narrative of tracing the meaning of our word. The connection between our word and its Mon venue seeming to be certain, I wrote to my friend, Phra Praison Salaraks who now lives in Toun-goo. He was good enough to refer the question to U Lu Pe Win, a Mon scholar, and the latter has sent me much valuable information for which I hope I may be allowed to record here my thanks. He writes:

Jetawan in Burmese architectural parlance is the name given to the Sheldrake throne room of the Palace in which the golden images of royal ancestors were kept . . .

There is an 18th century Burmese book known as the Shwebônñidan which gives much useful information about Palace matters and supplies also explanations of the origin of many of the Palace usages and royal paraphernalia. Its author Zeyya-thinkha says that the original Jetavana monastery of the Buddha being of three superposed roofs, any later triple-roofed building came to be called after it.

Further on he gives another interesting fact which bears on some aspects of the case, thus:

The custom of keeping and paying reverence to the golden royal images in the Jetawan was, according to the Shwebônñidan, handed down since the time of Alaungsithu (1112-67 A. D.), the grandson and successor of Kyanzittha (1085-1112 A. D.).

Then he says:

It will be remembered that as a result of Anorata's conquest of Thaton the Burmans received their ancient culture from the conquered Mons just as the Romans had from the Greeks. Most of the nomenclature of the royal paraphernalia were borrowed bodily from the Mon to enrich the Burmese language

He concludes by saying :

It is very likely therefore that a Jetawan in Mon ecclesiastical parlance would be the same as in Burmese and refers to a structure with three tiered roofs

Armed with the information, I went up again to Ayudhya in the hope of exploring the precincts of the monastery of Jaya Vardhanaram in search of some proof of an edifice which might with any likelihood correspond to the Jetawan of the law preamble. In the days of my apprenticeship in Government service at Ayudhya, I had known where the place was but had never been actually on the spot. On this visit we went straight to the place but were told by villagers living on the river in front of the *wat* that there was no such place as *wat* Jaya Vardhanaram. My host at Ayudhya on this occasion was a retired officer of the Gendarmerie, who also knew the place but had never heard it called by that name. It had been a favourite haunt of thieves and bad characters on account of its ruined state and the neglect into which it had fallen. Looking from the river, it formed an imposing group of spires on the west bank. A thick undergrowth of bush and thorn renders the place impenetrable without several hours' clearing. The southern part, however, bordered upon a clearing of villagers and at least the *Great Reliquary* was accessible, though difficult of passage. By dodging between thorns one could work a way into the square enclosing the Reliquary, a *chedi* of a distinctive style the northern side of which was still in fairly good preservation on account of its being sheltered from the south-west monsoon. One was able to recognise the surrounding cloister with its *meru* on each of the cardinal points of the compass. The cloister was pierced on four sides by covered entrances. We were told that to the north of the Reliquary cloisters there used to be remains of the ground floor, without walls or roofs, of two or three buildings, but they are in a most ruined state, and anyhow there was no hope of proving whether the roof was three-tiered or otherwise.

There yet remains another piece of evidence. I do not know what has become of that model in the courtyard of the Mon monastery in

Pathum, but as far as I can recollect it was roofed in tiers. How many tiers there were, I cannot remember.

In any case, we have fairly good grounds for believing that the word *jetavan* of the Law preamble was a Mon usage of the name and referred to a class of buildings of three-tiered roofs in which were housed effigies of the Buddha. As for the *jetavan* of *wat* Jaya Vardhanaram in Ayudhya, it probably existed to the north of the Great Reliquary, and whether it had three-tiered roofs or not, it probably housed effigies of the Buddha. It is also possible that it was the *ubosoth* of that *wat* too.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

I

ON TAI POTTERY.

It was with a sense of a very real loss that I learnt of the death of my old friend, Phya Nakhon Phra Ram, at the end of May last. I spent such happy days with him, both at Sawank'alok and Pitsanulok, and he used to write to me so fully and enthusiastically on the subject which he had so eagerly pursued, that it is, indeed, with a heavy heart that I sit down to write these notes on the lengthy paper on Tai pottery which he contributed to Vol. XXIX, Part 1 of the Journal.

Our friendly discussions and arguments were always stimulating and, having studied his paper carefully, I realise that some, though by no means all, of our difficulties were due to misunderstandings, largely because the Chao K'un did not understand English well. Peace be to his ashes, and may I express the earnest hope that the magnificent collection which he made will not be lost to students of Tai ceramics. I only wish it were here for me to consult in these notes. And now to the paper itself.

In the first paragraph Phya Nakhon Phra Ram lays it down that all authorities uphold the belief that Sank'alok⁽¹⁾ pottery was first manufactured after the return of Rama Kambheng as King of Sukhot'ai from China, where history says he went in 1294 A.D. or 1300 A.D. and brought back some 300 or 500 Chinese potters. I, too, accepted the truth of this belief. Taking the term *Sank'alok* in its ordinary sense, I dare say that this was so in the past before any serious study had been made of these wares, but the Chao K'un, who was writing late in 1935 and who had seen my articles in the *Burlington Magazine* published in October and November 1933 (Vol. LXIII, Nos. 367 and 368),

(1) sic.

is hardly doing me justice in stating that *all* authorities uphold the theory that the Tai made no pottery before the Chinese came, seeing that in the first of those articles I stated clearly that from historical evidence there is good reason to believe that there were Tai immigrants from the Northern Chiengsen region settled at a very early date, possibly as early as the tenth century (A. D.), at Chaliang, which is the oldest name known for old Sawank'alok, and that they established kilns for making pottery and stoneware on the site of the present so-called *Chaliang* kilns. In no other way can one account for the presence of certain types of ware which show no Khmer and very little Chinese influence.

There is little doubt in my mind that pottery, i. e. earthenware pure and simple, was made in different centres in Siam from very early times. This is borne out by Phya Nakhon Phra Ram himself on page 16 where he says that the lowest levels excavated at Suk'o-t'ai revealed only pottery of *ordinary baked clay* and that it was not until they came to the middle layers that Chaliang wares were found.

I myself once examined the banks of the river some distance from the town of Pitsanulok and at the lowest levels found only earthenware.

However, every race has made its own earthenware utensils from pre-historic times, and the question is not likely to occasion dispute.

But the *Chaliang* wares to which I referred in my article are much harder than ordinary earthenware and are always glazed, on one side at least, and, their features being almost wholly Tai, I felt that we had run to earth a type of ware produced by the Tai, possibly after contact with the Khmer (who also glazed their stoneware), but before any Chinese potters had arrived to alter their methods or styles of potting.

I had arrived at this conclusion after extensive visits to the kilns themselves, after an exhaustive study of my own collection (which is on loan to the South Kensington Museum) and that of Phya Nakhon Phra Ram, and after visits to Dr. Otley Beyer in the Philippines and to Mr. Van Orsay de Flines in Batavia, the latter of whom has presented to the Dutch Government Museum at that city a splendid collection of Chinese and Siamese wares found in the Dutch East Indies.

Phya Nakhon Phra Ram does not appear to be altogether consistent, throughout his monograph, in his use of place-names to describe the different types of ware produced in Siam, but on page 16 he states as follows :—

I have already mentioned the C'alieng and the Sukhot'ai factories. It seems to me that when work ceased at the C'alieng kilns, potters from Sukhot'ai established themselves at the C'alieng site, and these latter works are what I shall call the kilns of Sate'analai, which is the name of an old state which we now call Sawank'alok. This gives us as regards date the following sequence: first C'alieng, then Suk'ot'ai, followed later by Sate'analai.

With this sequence I am in agreement, but Phya Nakhon Phra Ram is at some pains to prove that the potters established at Suk'ot'ai were of Tai race (see pages 24/25), and this is where I have to part company with him. To make the matter clear, the intention of his paper is to show that, throughout the course of their career, the Tai potters were under no debt to their Chinese brother potters, and were alone responsible in every sense for the output of all the types of ware produced in Siam. I will say at once that I disagree with this view. On pages 17 to 20, Phya Nakhon Phra Ram describes the new kilns which he discovered at Kalong, a deserted city near Wieng Papao, in the north of Siam, and which he considers as established prior to the ancient city of Chiengsen; but, before discussing this problem, it will be as well to deal first with the Chaliang and Suk'ot'ai kiln-sites and productions.

To take the Chalieng kilns first. In the Burlington Magazine I showed illustrations of wares which were certainly not derived from any Chinese origin or influence (Pl. I, B, C, D & E, and Pl. II, A & B similar to the jar on his Pl. VI). They represent a thin stoneware glazed green or brown on the exterior (except the dish seen in Pl. I, C & E where the interior only is glazed), with a flat base and many bubbles in the glaze. The shapes are expressively Tai, and I classed them as Chaliang (old Sawank'alok pre-Chinese). Tai kilns, possibly XIth, XIIth and XIIIth centuries. Usually no decoration, but sometimes incised lines on dishes. Pl. I, C & E, and Pl. II, A & B are from my own collection, while Pl. I, B & D are from the collection of Phya Nakhon Phra Ram.

These wares were baked on large flat pontils, the marks of which can be seen on the wares near the rim of the base. They have almost nothing in common with Chinese wares, and their approximate date is fixed by Phya Nakhon Phra Ram, who found only Chalieng wares in the lowest levels of the river bank at the Monastery of the Great Relic at old Sawank'alok (cf. his Pl. XXVII).

Now appears an entirely new decorated type of ware, which is a product of the Suk'ot'ai kilns alone, as witnessed by examination both by Phya Nakhon Phra Ram and myself. The ware itself is hard, thick and coarse, full of impurities, but its singular quality lies in the technique applied. The ware is first covered with a coat of white slip, then the decorative motive is painted on it, and finally it is dipped in a thin straw-coloured glaze. For the first time in Siam we have decorated wares in black and brown, and the technique described is exactly parallel to that used in the Sung Chinese wares of Tzu-chou, a well-known centre of pottery from Sung times in the Chihli province south of Peking; indeed, a certain bowl in the collection of Mr. Van Orsay de Flines could easily pass as a product of Tzu-chou to anyone not intimately acquainted with both types of ware. Moreover, the Suk'ot'ai wares were baked in a manner hitherto unknown in Siam. The bowls were placed on small flat round earthen discs, with five pointed projections on the bottom, and stood inside one another in the kiln so that on the bottom of the interior of each bowl except the lowest will be found five spur marks where the pontil was broken off (cf. *Burlington Magazine* Pl. III, A & B). The decorative motives usually found on Suk'ot'ai wares, i.e. on the interior, are either a fish, a *chakra* (weapon of Vishnu), a spray of flowers, or a series of circular rays.

How are we to account for the sudden appearance of this type of ware?

Phya Nakhon Phra Ram is of the opinion that the potters of Kalong and other places in the vicinity were brought down to Suk'ot'ai about the year 1359 A. D. by the King of Suk'ot'ai, who at this time is reported to have marched to Chieng Rai and brought the inhabitants of that district down to Suk'ot'ai. He adds:

Furthermore, the kilns, the design, the enamel, and the shape of Suk'ot'ai pottery have *some*⁽²⁾ resemblance to those of Kalong.

Now this is clearly pure conjecture, but even if the two wares bear some resemblance to one another and Kalong ante-dates Suk'ot'ai (which I personally doubt for reasons given later), how do the Kalong wares themselves come to be made with the same technique as those of Tzu-chou, a technique hitherto unknown in Siam? Facts are stubborn things, whatever our hopes and beliefs may be, and this

(2) The italics are mine.

question has to be answered. Phya Nakhon Phra Ram believes that Chiengsen was built in the VIIth century A. D. and that Kalong (with its kilns) is older than Chiengsen. If this were so, Kalong wares would long ante-date those of Tzu-chou itself. Throughout his monograph Phya Nakhon Phra Ram makes no allusion whatever to the possibility of Chinese potters coming to Siam—in fact his whole argument appears to be to prove that they did not—but, looking at the matter from the standpoint of the evidence alone, I cannot believe that the potters of Kalong in northern Siam taught the potters of Tzu-chou in northern China their special technique of potting, and I am forced to conclude that some time during the Sung or, more likely, Yüan dynasty of China, Chinese potters were brought down, introducing new forms and new materials of potting, as well as new methods of decoration. I cannot account for these new wares in any other way, and this being so, I believe there is some ground for the truth of the tradition in Siam that Rām K'am-heng did go to the court of the Mongol Emperor, that he saw the decorated Tzu-chou wares on the occasion of his visit, and that he obtained permission from the Chinese Emperor to take back Tzu-chou potters to Siam to teach the Siamese potters the art of making decorated wares. It is hardly conceivable that potters would come all the way to Siam from Tzu-chou in the province of Chihli of their own volition.

The historical problem of the coming of the Tai to Siam is still not entirely resolved, but, until further and more detailed evidence is forthcoming, I am prepared to accept the conclusion arrived at both by the *Pongsāwadān Yōnok* and by Prince Damrong, that the first Tai prince to settle on the Southern bank of the Mek'ōng was Brahma (or P'rom) and that he founded the city of Jaya Prakār in the district of Chieng Rai early in the second half of the IXth century.

I have not found any evidence as yet to contradict this, and it tallies admirably with the rise of the Tai in Yunnan during the VIIth to IXth centuries A. D. It is quite possible that the city of Chiengsen was founded before that time, but, if it was, then it was a Lawā and not a Tai city. Even as late as 1239 A. D. it is recounted in the *Pongsāwadān Yōnok* that Lao Meng, the 23rd Lawā Chief of Chiengsen, married the daughter of the Tai chief of Chiengrung in south-western Yunnan and that the famous Meng Rai was their son. There can be no question, therefore, in my mind, of any particularly Tai kilns in the north of Siam before the 10th century A. D. at the earliest.

All the detailed historical statements made by Phya Nakhon Phra Ram I must leave to Professor Coëdès to deal with, should he see fit to do so, but the danger of putting forward legends as historical facts is well exemplified on page 20 where it is stated that in B.E. 1111 (568 A.D.) King Sinhanavati built the city of Yonok Nakanakon, and three years later drove the Khmer out of Khmer cities in the north. As a matter of historical fact there were no Khmer cities in the north at that, or, I believe, at any other time. Actually, in the VIth century, the Khmer, as a national entity, had only just begun to exist.

To return now to the Kalong wares and pottery, which is our particular theme. Phya Nakhon Phra Ram is to be congratulated on making the discovery of these kilns and of a new type of ware, and his drawings of the different kinds of kilns used at Kalong, Suk'ot'ai and Sawank'alok are very valuable. It remains to come to some conclusion where the Kalong kilns fit in with the whole scheme of pottery in Siam.

Phya Nakhon Phra Ram would have us believe that the kilns at Kalong were founded either in the VIth (or VIIIth) century (page 27) and were producing their wares for a period of 600 to 800 years, that they ante-date the founding of Chiengsen, and that it was from Kalong that potters were brought to, and set up, in Suk'ot'ai in the XIVth century.

I have now had the opportunity of discussing the Kalong wares with both Mr. Hobson of the British Museum and Mr. Bernard Rackham of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Phya Nakhon Phra Ram very kindly sent me a bottle, as well as fragments of a large dish and other utensils, so that it has been possible to study the make of the ware closely. It is a thin ware and rather brittle. Though lightly fired, it is undoubtedly of a porcellanous substance, and much finer in quality than the Suk'ot'ai ware. The fragment of a small dish-stand sent was not decorated but covered with a light green celadon crackled glaze (cf. Plate XXXIX a), but the other wares were all decorated wares, with the white slip first applied, then the black or brown painted motive and then the thin straw-coloured glaze, exactly in the Tzu Chou manner, (cf. Pl. XXVIII).

The glaze itself appears on the fragments to be much more vitreous and polished than in the Suk'ot'ai wares.

The decoration, on the large dish fragments, is very bold and pleasing. I have presented the major portion of the fragments sent me to the British Museum.

Now it has already been shown that either the Tzu Chou potters must have come to Siam, or the Tai potters went to Tzu Chou. Both Mr. Rackham and Mr. Hobson inform me that there is no evidence of the Tzu Chou type of pottery being made at Tzu Chou before the Sung dynasty of China, i. e. before the end of the Xth or beginning of the XIth century, but that from the Sung dynasty onwards the ware was turned out of Tzu Chou continuously for many hundreds of years. Can it be seriously contended that potters went all the way from Kalong to Tzu Chou in the Xth century to teach the Chinese potters their special technique? I cannot believe that Phya Nakhon Phra Rām himself, if he had considered the evidence more closely, could possibly have sustained that conclusion. Yet no other is feasible, if we are to accept his views as to the dating of the Kalong kilns.

There is another interesting point to consider, and that is the pontil used in baking the wares. The Chalieng potters used the long tubular support of fire-clay, and so did the Kalong potters (according to Phya Nakhon Phra Ram) but the Suk'ot'ai potters used an entirely different kind, such as I have already described. This flat round disc with five projecting spurs on the base is not known elsewhere in Siam but *it is known in China*. Mr. Hobson tells me that they have not been able as yet to obtain any evidence of the type of pontil used at Tzu Chou, but the Suk'ot'ai type was definitely used at Hang-Chou, where the famous Kuan ware was produced during the Sung dynasty. So here is a definite link between Suk'ot'ai and China.

On stylistic and material grounds Mr. Rackham places the Kalong ware as of late Sung or Yüan type, i. e. XIIIth century, and Mr. Hobson cannot place it as earlier than Sung. This date of Mr. Rackham's is corroborated in a very unexpected way, by evidence shown by Phya Nakhon Phra Ram himself. On Plate XX he shows specimens of porcelain Buddha images from Kalong, the centre one with an inscription which has been pronounced to be in Tai Lü characters, and from the context, he appears to consider these Buddha figures as evidence of the great age of Kalong. Actually they prove almost the exact opposite. It can be clearly seen that the centre Buddha image has a *Ketumala* (flame-top) proceeding from the centre of the *usnisa*, which makes it certain that this particular image could

not have been produced before the XIVth century, since the flame-top, which came from Ceylon, was not introduced into Siam itself until the middle of the XIIIth century and did not spread from Suk'ot'ai into the north of Siam until the XIVth century. Even the other two figures, with lotus-buds on their *usnissas*, cannot be earlier than the late XIIth or XIIIth century, as this style was not introduced into Siam from Burma until that period.

So, on all grounds, historical, material and incidental, we cannot place the kilns at Kalong earlier than the XIIIth or XIVth century. My own belief is that, owing to their superiority over Suk'ot'ai wares, the Kalong kilns are later than Suk'ot'ai, and that *possibly*, instead of the King of Suk'ot'ai bringing potters back from Kalong to Suk'ot'ai, potters accompanied him on his journey northwards. The question will probably never be resolved now, but, considering all the circumstances, it seems much more likely that potters should go *from* a capital city *to* an outlying district than that the reverse move should take place.

Before I close my remarks on the Suk'ot'ai-Kalong-Tzu Chou wares, it is of interest to note that I have presented to the British Museum a beautiful fragment of undoubted Tzu Chou Sung ware, painted with a bird, which was found in the district of old Suk'ot'ai. So it was known there!

It remains for me to deal with those wares which Phya Nakhon Phra Ram refers to as *Satc'analai*.

According to him, the kilns of Chalieng, i.e. I presume, those which turned out purely Tai pottery, went on producing until about the year 1359, when the pottery from Suk'ot'ai began to compete in foreign markets with that from Chalieng and finally, as it sold at a lower price than that of its competitor, caused the Chalieng kilns to be closed down. Suk'ot'ai kilns only produced their wares for fifteen years, and then their place was taken by the kilns of Satc'analai which first began to produce in 1374 A. D. and continued to put out pottery until 1446 A. D., when P'ya Yut'itsacieng took all the population to Chiangmai. His reason for giving only 15 years of life to the Suk'ot'ai kilns is 'because it would seem that Suk'ot'ai was conquered by Ayuthya about that time'.

As I have said already, I am in agreement with the sequence, first Chalieng, then Suk'ot'ai and finally Satc'analai (or Sawank'alok). The difference between us is that Phya Nakhon Phra Ram believed

that Tai potters were brought from Kalong to establish the kilns at Suk'ot'ai, whereas I believe that Chinese potters were brought from the north of China for this purpose. I cannot therefore entirely agree with the dates proposed, though the difference is not very great. My date for the establishment of the Suk'ot'ai kilns would be about 1300 A. D. at the beginning of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty of China against his 1359 which marks the end of that dynasty (the Ming dynasty dates from 1368). I do not feel so confident about the export either of Suk'ot'ai wares or of Chalieng products. I saw a few specimens of Suk'ot'ai ware in the Batavia Museum, but they were rare compared with those from Sawank'alok, and I cannot recall, at this period of time, seeing any in Manila, though here again Professor Beyer may have unearthed a few pieces. Of real, genuine Chalieng wares I know of none abroad, and I should have thought that it was not until the Tai dynasty of Suk'ot'ai had been firmly established under Ram K'anheng that any wares would have been exported at all via Martaban, which was their port of exportation. It seems likely that the products of the Chalieng kilns had only a local sale, and that it was the Chinese potters of Suk'ot'ai who first thought of exporting their wares. As these latter are so rare, even in Siam, I agree with Phya Nakhon Phra Ram that their life was a short one, and when we consider the comparison made by him on page 26 between the clay of Suk'ot'ai and that of Chalieng, it seems reasonable to suppose that the Suk'ot'ai potters became dissatisfied with their materials at that centre and eventually took over the Chalieng kilns. I have discussed this matter at some length in the *Burlington Magazine* on p. 165.

Why I personally feel confident about the coming of the Chinese potters and their absorption of the Chalieng (now to become Sate'analai) kilns is not only because the Suk'ot'ai kilns turned out a purely Chinese type of ware, but because the earlier products of Sate'analai (or Sawank'alok) are also imbued with a strong Chinese influence.

On Pl. III in the *Burlington Magazine* of October 1933,⁽³⁾ I showed three illustrations of fragments which I myself picked up in the Sawank'alok kilns and which show clearly, first a freely-drawn Chinese Sung design, then formal Chinese designs, and finally Indo-Tai designs, and I said that this, to my mind, means that the original potters of (what I called) Chino-Sawank'alok wares were Chinese, who were possi-

⁽³⁾ First published in the *Journal of the Siam Society* Vol. XIX, pt. 2 issued in September 1925.

bly followed by others, as many Chinese embassies came to Siam in the 14th century, but that in the course of time the Chinese potter married Tai wives, and their children and successors gradually became Tai in heart and feeling. This opinion of mine was corroborated by Dr. Beyer who said in his report, 'As le May has already surmised, our sites confirm his ideas of the evolution of designs in Sawank'alok wares, gradually changing from purely Sung Chinese patterns step by step to purely Siamese (Tai) ones before the end of the fifteenth century.'

But, quite apart from this evidence, a novice has only to look at the shapes and designs on Sawank'alok (Satc'analai) wares to recognise their affinity with contemporary Chinese wares, particularly among the celadons, and how unlike they are to the earlier Chalieng wares. Dishes, Bottles, Potiches are all clearly Chinese in type, and though many of the products of Sawank'alok have a subtle difference in their make-up which is recognizable by the initiated, still I defy anyone acquainted with both Chinese and Siamese wares to gainsay the fact that the influence seen in most of the earlier household wares made at Sachanalai came from China.

The later wares, especially the finials, subjects for temples, lions, angels, devotees, as well as animals and toys and the like are, of course, of purely Tai inspiration.

Phya Nakhon Phra Ram's comparisons between Chinese and Tai ceramics is most interesting and a valuable contribution to the general subject of technique, but it would lead me into too much detail to discuss them here. I am rather concerned to fix, as far as we can, the main facts regarding the period covered by the kilns established in central and northern Siam and the kind of wares they produced. In passing, I may mention that Mr. Hobson is rather inclined to think that the Satc'analai kilns went on producing their wares up to the XVIIIth century. I am of opinion that they stopped some time in the XVIth century and Dr. Beyer agrees with this view. We shall probably never know definitely.

To sum up, I reproduce the conclusions I came to in the *Burlington Magazine* (p. 165) where I divided the early ceramic productions of Central Siam as follows:—

1. Pitsanulok and elsewhere—Tai kilns. Unglazed earthenware. From early times.

2. Chaliang (old Sawank'alok—Pre-Chinese)—Tai kilns. Thin, glazed stoneware, green and brown. Possibly XIth, XIIth and XIIIth centuries.

Usually no decoration, but sometimes incised lines on dishes.

3. Suk'ot'ai—Chinese kilns. Hard, thick stoneware painted with white slip and decoration in black or brown with thin covering of glaze.

First years of XIVth century.

4. Sawank'alok—Chino-Siamese kilns. Hard, thick stoneware, rising to porcellaneous ware, with incised and painted decoration, as well as undecorated monochromes, covered with various coloured glazes.

Early XIVth to end of XVIth century.

To this list must now be added the kilns of Kalong, which I myself date in the XIVth and XVth centuries.

Finally, I would like to say, and I only wish my dear old friend were alive to hear it, that I tried to impress upon Phya Nakhon Phra Ram the essential necessity of treating this most interesting subject objectively and scientifically and of not allowing ourselves to be led astray by legendary histories or by pre-conceived ideas. The historian, they say, is never impartial: he would not be worth reading if he were. Well, the reader must make his choice between the cold facts of science and the emotional warmth of history.

(Sgd.) REGINALD LE MAY.

Wimbledon,
January, 27th, 1938.



II

ON THE COINS OF NORTHERN SIAM.

I have been so busy with my new work on *Buddhist Art in Siam* that it is only now that I find time to deal with the above article in Vol. XXIX, pt. 1 of the *Journal*, issued in August 1936, which was of great interest to me. It is, indeed, agreeable to find another enthusiast, especially a young enthusiast, for the coinage of Siam, even if his present studies are confined to the North.

Dr. Kneedler has certainly been at great pains to fill in the outline of northern coinage which I gave in the *Coinage of Siam*, and his twelve plates appear to me to be thoroughly illustrative of all types at present known. I congratulate him on his success in discovering and bringing together so many specimens of each type. His two additional plates showing all the inscriptions and marks on the coins are very valuable and constitute an important part of his work.

As regards the text which accompanies these plates and which I have studied carefully, I am sorry to say that I cannot be equally appreciative. Dr. Kneedler calls me in question in so many places, and is evidently in disagreement with me on so many points, that I feel it necessary to make the following observations.

With regard to the *Flower, Leaf* or *Line, Tok, Horsehoof*, and *Pigmouth* moneys, Dr. Kneedler's statements are purely descriptive and I have no particular comment to make upon them.

As regards the *Bar* (or *Leech*), *C'ieng* (Chieng) and *Bullet* moneys, Dr. Kneedler, apart from his descriptive remarks, either credits me with statements which I have not made, or deals with my deductions in such a manner, that I find it rather difficult to answer him critically.

For instance, in speaking of the *Bar* money, Dr. Kneedler says: *Mr. le May attributes them to the principality of Wieng Čăn*, whereas, if the reader will turn to page 13 of *The Coinage of Siam* (which is cited) he will find these words: I was *told*⁽¹⁾ in the North that this coin (cf. his plate VI, nos. 2, 3, 4, & 5) was an issue of the ancient Kingdom of Wieng Chan on the Mekhong, *but I have as yet no evidence to prove this assertion*⁽¹⁾! So except for the fact that it seems reasonable to believe that this type (and all the other types) of *Bar* money originated in the valley of the Mekhong, Dr. Kneedler and I are exactly in the same position of knowing nothing whatever about them. Yet I, in my turn, must ask Dr. Kneedler one question. He stated that the *Bar* money was made in olden times by people of the *Siamese*⁽¹⁾ race living in the valley of the Mekhong river, in the region known a few hundred ago as Lan O'ang. This may possibly be true, but would he be kind enough to produce the evidence he has at the present moment for the assertion that the people were of *Siamese* race?

C'IENTG (CHIENG) MONEY.

Dr. Kneedler has performed a good service for all students of Siam's coinage with his drawings of all the names and marks found on the *C'ientg* (*Chieng*) money, but I must definitely cross swords with him when he states: typically this money is a silver bar, the ends of which were curved and also when, in speaking of the *bracelet* type of coinage depicted in my book, he says: "all that which he pictures, however, appears to me to be merely widely open C'ientg money."

Furthermore, his statement that he has not heard of any actual *bracelet* coins, nor has the National Museum, when he actually illustrates two obvious *bracelets* in his plate IX, nos. 1 and 2, is not particularly flattering to my powers of description. Lastly, he states: Mr. le May cites an old (sic) reference to the effect that "*bracelet* money was used in the North of Siam at a very remote date."

On page 12 of my volume I tried to show the difference, in origin, between the *C'ientg* (*Chieng*) money and the *bullet* coinage. It is quite clear, to my mind and eye, that the *Chieng* money is derived, *not* from a *bar* but from a *bracelet*, while it is well known from demonstration (cf. pages 63-65 of the *Coinage of Siam*) that the *bullet* coin is a short elliptical bar of silver of which both ends have been turned inwards.

(1) The italics are mine,

There is, in my opinion, a fundamental difference between the two types of coinage, and, as I said in my work, the *bullet* coin has more in common with the *bar* money used in the Mekhong valley.

Now, as regards the *Chieng* money, it should be clear to a student of early coinage, that no issuing authority which had evolved such a well defined shape as this type of money is, stamped with the name of the principality and bearing a figure of value, would be likely to revert to the more primitive *bracelet* form with *no* name and *no* value. Everyone must admit that the *Chieng* type is a peculiar one and I at any rate, was, and am convinced that it is derived from something older; and, in searching for clues to its evolution, I happily came upon the 'old' reference to which Dr. Kneedler so vaguely and contemptuously refers, though why an 'old' reference should be of less value than a new one I cannot understand, provided it rests on a firm basis.

If the reader will consult Harvey's *History of Burma*, page 13, he will find the 'old' reference in full, a very valuable reference which gives a concise and exact description of the extinct Pyu race in Burma as the Chinese found them at Prome in the VIIIth century A. D. It would be irrelevant to give the text in full here, but I repeat that I found in it a reference to the fact that the Pyu were in the habit of using gold and silver as money, the shapes of which are crescent-like.

Now the Pyu and the Tai came into close contact during the VIIIth and IXth centuries, at the time when the Tai race were entering the North of Siam, and I suggested, as a high probability, that the Tai became acquainted with this crescent-like type of coinage which, to my mind, was clearly the kind of *bracelet* type such as the one we are considering.

I see no reason to doubt that probability at this later time, and there is very little doubt in my mind that the Tai type of *Chieng* coinage was derived from this earlier type of money. Whether the actual coins which Dr. Kneedler depicts (plate IX, nos. 1 & 2) or those which I showed in the *Coinage of Siam* (plate III, nos. 5 & 7) date back as far as the VIIIth or IXth century, I have no means of telling but I am reasonably convinced that they antedate the *Chieng* money and were the source of its shape. Finally, a study of the marks on the two types of coinage tends to reinforce in my mind the belief that they do not belong to the same period. If I am later proved to be wrong, I will gladly admit it, but Dr. Kneedler's vague statements that they seem to him to be merely widely open *C'ien*g money and that

he has never heard of any *bracelet* money neither advance the study of Siam's coinage systems one whit further.

The three *entirely unique* coins or tokens depicted on plate IX, nos. 4, 5 & 6 have sent my mind back to a passage from *An Asian Arcady* which I may well quote here (p. 248). In speaking of the *Chieng* money I said: It may be stated frankly that in the North of Siam to-day these two coins (i. e. the examples illustrated) are supposed to have been used in pairs, and to represent the male and female genital organs, *by which they are known.*⁽²⁾ But I am now satisfied that this is not so, and that probably the coins in question are of a similar type, issued by different principalities. We know now, of course that a number of principalities did issue similar coins, varying slightly in weight and shape, and with different names stamped upon them. But when I was in the North, the old ladies who used to bring me coins for sale, always referred to the *Chieng* type in the outspoken 'vulgar' way referred to above, and I am left wondering whether somebody has not been playing a trick on Dr. Kneedler and, perhaps, on the owner of the 'unique coins,' Nai Leng. Dr. Kneedler does not say of what metal the 'coins' are made, and, as I have not seen them, I cannot express any opinion, but I have always held, and still hold, the view that all *Chieng* coins which are not of silver are gravely suspect.

In the photograph, in comparison with nos. 1, 2, & 3 on the same plate, they do not appear to be of silver, while the shape of the *Chieng* coins (no. 5) is definitely bad.

LUMP OR 'BULLET' MONEY.

Dr. Kneedler quotes me as believing that this type of coinage, long the official and common type of Siam, originated in the North of the country and, though he does not definitely say so, the whole tone of his paragraph appears to be opposed to this belief. Well, I cannot gainsay him his views, but to any one interested in the subject, I can only refer him to pages 21-23 of my work, where he will find my deductions and views clearly set out. That Mr. Kneedler has not found any old coinage of the *bullet* type in the North of Siam is, no doubt, regrettable, but it does not alter the fact that *I have* (and as far north as Chiengsen) or the fact that these *bullet* coins are of lighter weight than, and of different *build* from, the coinage of Ayudhya. Those he illustrates on plate XI (nos. 1, 3, 5 & 6) are

(2) The italics are mine.

quite irrelevant to the point at issue: those to which I refer may be seen in the *Coinage of Siam* plate IV, no. 6 and in *An Asian Arcady*, plate I, nos. 15 & 16, opposite page 246, where I have also discussed them at some little length. There is no disputing the fact (1) that *bullet* coins were at certain times in current use in the North of Siam, and (2) that these northern *bullet* coins were lighter in weight and lower in value than the coins of Ayudhya. These facts have to be accounted for, and I have endeavoured to shed some light upon them. Dr. Kneedler, however, gets over the difficulty by the simple method of saying that he has never seen any; therefore, presumably, they do not exist.

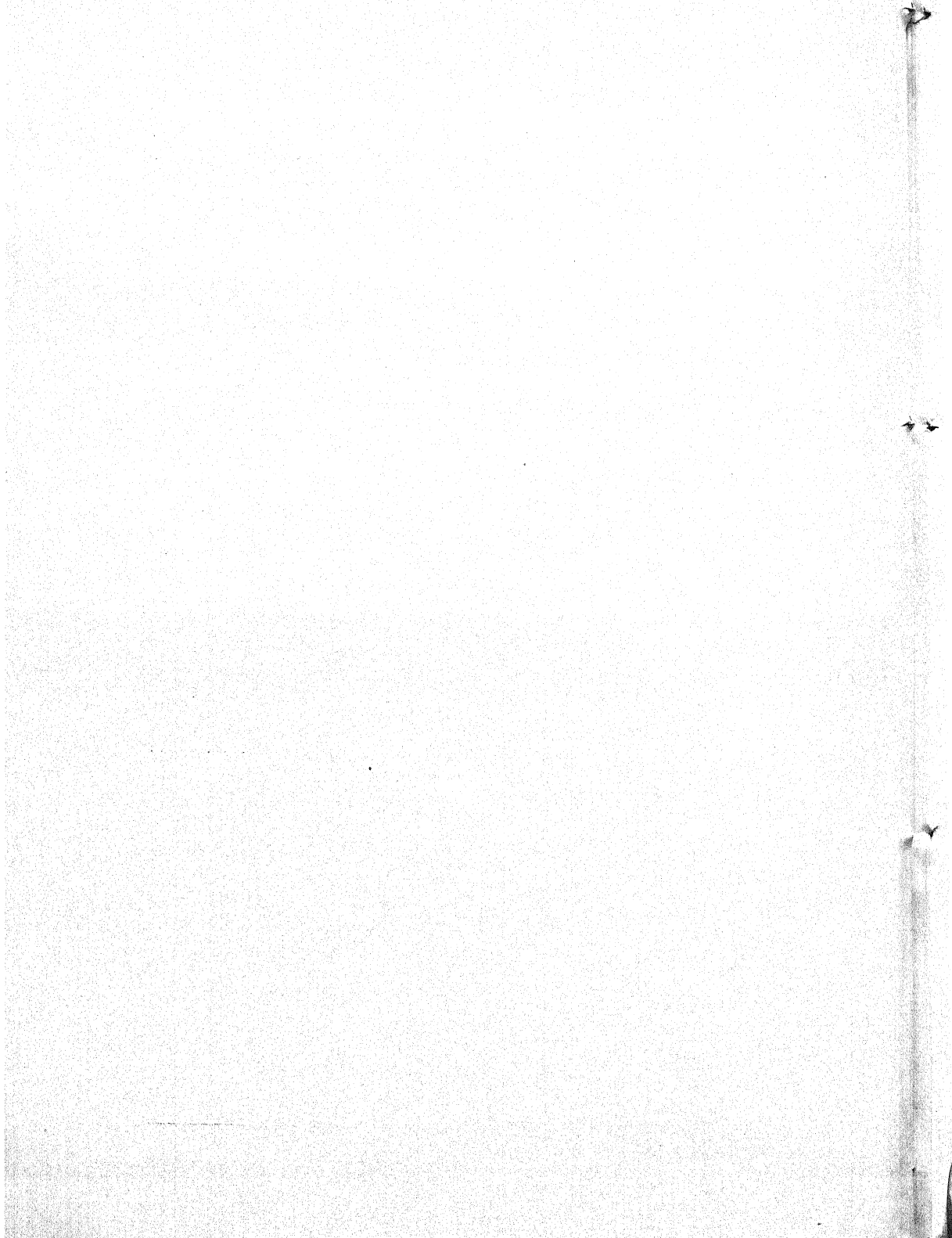
One last example of Dr. Kneedler's method of critical writing and I have done. He says that (in 1615) Chiengmai was under the rule of Burma then, and it seems likely that what the writer of the letter, [Lucas Antheunis, the agent to the East India Company at Ayudhya] referred to was the standard coinage of Burma, "*whatever that may have been, if indeed there was any.*"⁽³⁾ Dr. Kneedler had only to refer to page 4 of the *Coinage of Siam* to find it stated, on the best authority (Sir Arthur Phayre) that *there wasn't any*!

I hope Dr. Kneedler will not think from this reply to his monograph, that I appreciate any less the work that he has done in helping to elucidate the different coinage of the North or that I object to my own work being criticised. But I prefer such criticism to rest upon rather more substantial foundations. I am as anxious as he is to solve the problems presented by the forms of Siam's coinage, but I do not feel that his present criticisms are helpful.

REGINALD LE MAY.

Wimbledon, October 1937.

⁽³⁾ The italics are mine.



III

ON SYMBOLS OF SOVEREIGNTY IN INDIA.

In the first number of *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. XII, is published the text of a lecture delivered by Mlle. Jeannine Auboyer before the India Society on *The Symbolism of Sovereignty in India according to Iconography*. The lecturer chose as her subject that aspect of the question which referred to parasols and thrones. She begins with an explanation of the symbolism of the *parasol* by referring to the legend of Asoka in which the monarch expressed his intention of sheltering the entire world beneath his parasol. Hence it became the symbol of universal sovereignty. As regards *the throne*, Indian tradition has it that it confers on him who sits upon it the attitude and character of a *cakravartin* or universal sovereign. In the rituals of consecrating a *cakravartin* (the Vājapeya ritual), the king does not proclaim himself endowed with royal power until he is seated upon the throne.

The author goes on then to examine the decorative motifs at the backs of thrones of the Buddha on sculpture and sets down the results of her study and a comparison of the animal figures on either side of the backs of thrones. The usual motif is that of the *makara*, and below it the lion, and lower still the elephant. In this she sees representation of the three principal elements of ancient Indian cosmology, namely: ocean, heaven and earth. The whole frame, she thinks, might represent a synthesis of the universe over which reigns the *cakravartin*, whose figure is seated upon the throne. By studying their posture and the backs of thrones she comes to the conclusion that the Buddha-figures seated upon such thrones are not those of the Buddha Sakyamuni but Maitreya on account of his connection with the solar myth which shows its traces on the throne-backs.

Although it seems that the main point of Mlle. Auboyer's article is the identification of the figure seated upon the throne of the Buddha King (an evolution in Art from the Buddha monk) with Maitreya, who by the way is traced to the Indo-Iranian Mithra—an issue which I have no intention of refuting or supporting without a good deal more study—I feel tempted to set down certain facts, some corroborating perhaps many of the author's statements or even deductions. My point, however, is not so concerned with the works of ancient Indian art and iconography as with their development in what the author calls the Indianized countries, especially Siam.

Taking first the parasols, it will be remembered that the author pointed out that the simple and habitual form in India developed in outer India into a symbol. It only remains to be added that this development was not only in form but also in number. In the old Khmer empire the king went about with several parasols of state at the same time, not over the head but all round him, as can be still seen on the bas-reliefs of Ankor Wat.⁽¹⁾ In Siam, however, the numerous parasols are again united in one by putting each on top of another, forming one parasol of so many tiers, the number of which became—doubtless later—stipulated for different ranks. Thus, nine is ordained for a consecrated monarch, seven for the heir to the throne and five for the queen and the head of the Buddhist Church. In the light of Mlle. Auboyer's explanation of the significance of the parasol, it might seem that the Siamese monarch was prepared to rule over so many more earths than his ancient Indian counterparts. It is, however, more likely that this is a case of the conception of the *earth* deteriorating into a *realm*, such a process of deterioration being possible of detection in so many other cases where a conception has been imported far from its original home and setting. By way of an instance it might be pointed out that the rituals of consecrating a *cakravartin* as ordained in the *Śatapatha Brahmanas* have to a great extent been adopted for the Siamese ceremony of coronation, with however a different conception of an important feature. A Siamese king commences the ritual of his coronation by an anointment—locally spoken of as a ceremonial bath—and then sits on an octagonal seat, where, by turning around, he accepts on each of the eight sides of the seat, representing the four cardinal points of the compass and their in-

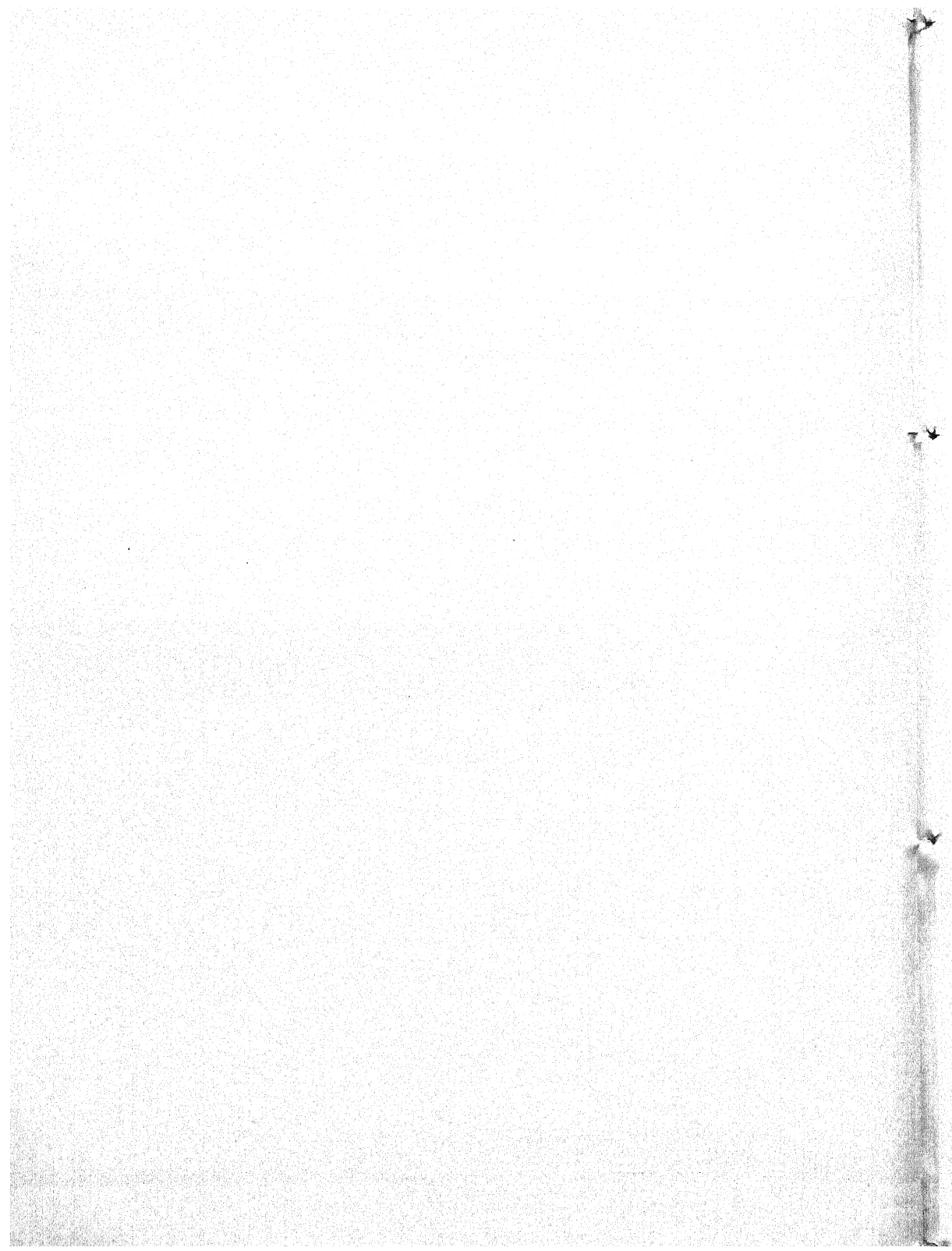
(1) Where Sūryavarman II. is represented in two places, with fifteen state-parasols in both.

intermediate points, an invitation from a deputy of the people (a part now taken by a *rājapandit* of the Court) to rule over them in the respective sector of the Kingdom. He then receives from the chief of the deputies a combined invitation from all of them. The number of invitations is then nine, exactly the number of tiers of the royal white parasol of state, and, one might presume, a number signifying the large extent of the responsibility over his realm. This being over, the king proceeds to the throne proper called the Phatrabīṭh (Sk. Bhadrāpīṭha), where he receives the crown and other articles of the regalia from the chief Brahmin of the Court as well as the nine-tiered parasol of state. The latter then formally invites him to reign over the Kingdom, to which the king signifies his assent and commands the people through the Brahmin to go on as before with their livelihood and their work. The Brahmin then adds: *I do receive the first command of Your Majesty*. The above description will show us that in Siam too the king is not theoretically invested with royal power until he seats himself upon the throne, for here for the first time does he receive and wear the crown and give his *first* royal command. It should, however, be noted that while the Indian celebrant of the Vāja-peya aims at raising himself from the status of the head of a state to that of a universal sovereign, the Siamese monarch merely aims at becoming crowned as the head of his state. Here again can be detected the process of the former conception being reduced to smaller proportions.

Finally the author raises an interesting question: Is the personage on the throne exclusively one of a divine character, or is it to be admitted that the statue represents also, over and above the divine person of Maitreya or Vishnu, a temporal sovereign to whom its erection is due? With her conclusion along the line of the second alternative I am inclined to fall in for reasons already set forth in my article in the current number of this Journal entitled *The World Jetavan in old Siamese* (p. 49). In further support of this I might cite another article in *Indian Art and Letters* Vol. IX, 2, by Monsieur P. Mus, entitled *Ankor in the Time of Jayavarman VII.*; and, though it is a modern piece of statuary, I might point to an effigy of the Buddha placed in the cloisters of Wat Makut in Bangkok over the remains of His late Royal Highness Prince Adisorn, whose exact countenance the effigy resembles.

D.

Bangkok, 12th January 1939.



IV

AN ANALYSIS OF DAS LAND DER TAI⁽¹⁾

Professor Credner, who travelled extensively and made profound studies in Siam during the years 1927-1929, has produced a very excellent book and though written now nearly three years ago it cannot be said to have lost any measure of novelty as most of the matter treated in his book is not made from material which changes from day to day. Professor Credner, who is both an expert geographer and a geomorphologist will be known to the readers of the J. S. S. from my review of his book *Yünnan Reise des Geographischen Instituts der Sun Yat Sen Universität*, Kanton 1931, J. S. S., Vol. XXVI, Part 1, 1933 and his *Kulturgeographische Beobachtungen in der Landschaft um Tali (Yünnan) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Nan Tsao Problems*, translated by me and published in J. S. S., Vol. XXVII, Part II, 1935. The present work does not pretend to be a history of Siam nor of the Thai in the historico-political sense though it also contains a short historical sketch. It is a thorough-going geographical study coupled with an exact description of all the physical features of this country as well as its economical structure, its resources and material culture. As such this book is to be of lasting value and will constitute the standard work for many years to come. It is a pity that it has not yet been translated into English or French, as it is just *the* book which should be read and absorbed by the business man, to whom it is hereby recommended by an *old timer* who, after his thirty odd years spent in Siam, can testify

(1) Professor Dr. Phil. Wilhelm Credner, *Siam, das Land der Tai*. J. Engelhorn's Nachfolger, Stuttgart, 1935, 422 pages with 70 illustrations, 12 maps and 27 drawings.

to the soundness of Professor Credner's views as expressed in this book. Mr. W. A. Graham wrote a very interesting book, *Siam*, in two volumes, published in 1923, which was a good book then (with the exception of its historical part) but it must now be considered as partly out of date, though it will always remain a very readable book.

The author calls Siam a typical Monsoon country and a land of the plough culture. Siam is the heart of Indo-China constituting as she does the central part of this sub-continent, bordered on the west by the Burmese frontier hills, called by the author the Central Cordillera, and to the east (geographically speaking) by the Annamite Cordillera. The Menam plain constitutes the heart of Siam, being economically and politically the most important part of the kingdom.

The chapter on geology is of the greatest interest, as here for the first time in all the literature on Siam one meets with a description by an expert. The dominant geological formation in South-East Asia is the Permo-carbonic limestone. From Kweichow and Yünnan in the north it stretches down through Further India to Sumatra, Timor and even as far as New Guinea. While the mountains of the North, North-west and West as well as partly in South Siam are mostly composed of limestone, the vast plateau of Khorat with its western and southern border hills are all composed of sandstones resting, however, on a substratum of permo-carbonic limestone. Granite crops up in the Khun Tān range in North Siam and Doi Suthep is also a granite formation. The highest mountain of the kingdom, Doi Intanon, is however composed of limestone. Granite again is found in the Chantaburi hills (Khao Sabāb), in the islands of Koh Samui and Pangan, in Phuket and especially where tin mines are worked because it is granite which contains this important metal.

Koh Samui and the Khao Luang range in the South are known for their wolfram ore, a metal of importance during times of war. It has also been found (by the reviewer) in N. E. Siam in the Dong Rek range, south of Khorat town. Basalt flows are met with in Chantaburi at Khao Ploi Wen, where formerly sapphires were found, and also at Bô Ploi, 32 km. north of Kanburi, where at present mining for sapphires is going on. South of Lampang is also a broad outflow of basalt through which the railway passes. Finally, at Chiang Khong, one sees splendid column-shaped basalt formations rise in the middle of the river Mekhong itself as well as on both its banks.

Volcanoes do exist in Siam in a mild way. There are two small ones, called Phu Fai Yai and Phu Fai Noi situated to the west of Chieng Sen, which at times emit flames of fire. Hot springs are not uncommon and are met with both in North Siam and in the south east (at Bang Phra and in Chantaburi). Siam belongs to the happy countries which are exempt from earthquakes though slight tremors are of not unfrequent occurrence, especially in the North.

The extensive Menam plain is, of course, an alluvial formation and its fertility is due to the annual inundations and the silt carried down from the hills of the north which forms a thick alluvial layer. In the valleys of the hilly parts of the country the alluvial formations are of a much lesser depth and here, due to the presence of iron and aluminium hydratoxydes, one encounters the laterite. This natural concrete has from ancient times been used by the inhabitants of Indo-China for the construction of their imposing temples, their city walls, their bridges and chaussées.

In tracing the geological history of Siam, Professor Credner lays down the following succession :—

The oldest formations belong to the pre-uralic, namely clay schists and sandstone formations *not* of red colour which reach a thickness of 10,000 metres (according to Wallace Lee). Metamorphosic variants are phyllite, quartzic sandstone, quartzic schists and gneiss. These formations dominate the whole of the west side of the Siamese part of the Malayan Peninsula.

Next comes the permo-carbon, mostly of light grey limestone which reaches a thickness of up to 2,500 metres. Its greatest extension is in East Siam where, however, it is covered with a layer of red sandstone.

Third in order come the mesozoic formations consisting of older red sandstone, clay schists (folded), probably of triassic age, conglomerates with rubble stones of permo-carbonic chalk, quartz, older sandstone and clay schists and salt layers. These formations are found east of the northern Siamese hill country and on the north-western Khorat plateau. Further granitic intrusions (post-triassic) combined with rhyolite and porphyry, tin and wolfram ore, are all mostly confined to the peninsula in the southern part of the Central Cordillera. To the mesozoic formations also belong younger red sandstone and clay schist formations with conglomerates, isolated limestone and salt. These latter formations are mainly found on the Khorat plateau. Their age is probably young mesozoic.

Fourth in succession we have the tertiary, with light coloured schistic clay, sandstone and lignite, whose location is in the northern Siamese river basins and in the peninsula. Its age is still undecided.

Finally comes the pleistocene with the riverine activities; the formation of the soil and isolated volcanic eruptions.

Generally speaking the zone occupied by Siam represents a younger post-triassic folding between two older ones, a caledonian in the west and a herzynian in the east. This means that limestone and granite are chiefly found in the western and southern parts while sandstone dominates the eastern parts.

Professor Credner gives a very striking and exact description of the Khorat hills, the mighty barrier of Dong Rek, with their so characteristic terrassic formations which are often of great scenic beauty and majesty. The writer having had the opportunity of crossing and recrossing these mighty ranges many times right from the west, at a point due south of Khorat town, to their eastern extremity, not far from the mighty Mekhong river, can testify to the correctness of the picture painted by this master geographer.

It would take up too much space to give more details of the author's excellent and thoroughgoing analysis of the geology of Siam, so I shall limit myself to mention only the more outstanding traits. When speaking about the occurrence of tin ore, other than in the peninsula, the author says that tin ore is found also at Müang Loei and Chieng Khong, and though at present no mines are worked there, this sounds probable, as tin was used for making bronze images of the Buddha. From personal observation I think this is correct. Iron is found in many parts of Siam and I would like to add that at least formerly i. e. when I was stationed in the Udorn circle, in 1909-10, iron ore was mined in considerable quantities near Wang Sapung in Changvad Loei where there existed a big blacksmith's village. Even at a good distance from this town of smithies one could hear the clang from the many anvils where the swarthy Lāos hammered out the iron. Caravans of elephants would come laden with salt from the west, or with dried fish or rice from the east, to barter their cargoes against iron implements. Under lead it may be added that this metal is also found in the former circle of Khorat where a whole tambol is called after it. Speaking about salt manufacturing, it might be added that in the district of Nakhon Thai is a curious *Bó Klüa*. Here the salt is not won by washing the

earth or drawing the brine from a well. The source of the salt is a salt-incrusted hill. During the rainy season the water, streaming down its sides, leaving broad blood-red stripes, is collected and evaporated in large flat iron pans giving a snow white product. This salt used to be transported on elephants or pack-oxen to the plains in the east. A well known salt well with a considerable output lies between Udornthani and Nongkhai. Finally there should be mentioned Bô Phan Khan, situated in the district of Suvarnaphum, Changvad Roi Et. One sees here in the stony bed of a small stream a number of more or less square-formed enclosures with low rims. After the end of the rainy season there is a great gathering of people, Lăo, Kui and Khmer, who come here in their bullock carts from far and near in order to boil the saline waters standing in these quadrangles in the river bed. The banks of the stream are full of conical holes where the salt seekers boil the saline waters. The whole stream is salt and no pony, bullock or buffalo will touch its waters. A ruined tower in Khmer style, but no doubt built by Lăo people, and containing the image of a hunchbacked idol (Siva?) and a *linga* stands near by—and no salt seeker omits to worship here. Evidently this salt well is of great antiquity. When one sees on the flat plains of the Khorat plateau groups of small mounds one can be sure that these represent the residue from salt washing, and generally one will also see here the rough, hollowed out tree trunks which serve as troughs for the washing. Near a village called Ban Nôn in the district of Khüang Nai, Changvad Ubon, lie seven tall hills, now covered with grass, on one of which is built a Shan Buddhist temple. Some people told me that these hills were old fortifications but as they do not form either a line or a square or a circle this explanation seems doubtful. Another explanation is that they really represent the residue from salt washing in olden days, which sounds much more possible.

Under lignite it may be added that this combustible also occurs in Udorn in the range of hills which run west of, and nearly parallel to, the Khonkaen-Udorn road. Copper, besides at Chantik is found in the hills at Gut Khăo in the district of Manchakiri, roughly west of Chonlabot, Changvad Khonkaen. As far as I know this metal is also found in the Amphoe Mae Hôt, somewhere in the hills to the south-west of the town of that name.

With regard to the origin of the Menam plain there can be no doubt that this plain was formerly covered with water constituting a northern extension of the Gulf of Siam. The present plain has been slowly built up by the silt carried down by the rivers of the north, a process taking several thousands of years. Sandbars like the one situated outside the mouth of the Menam are found between Bangkok and Ayudhya and one is seen even as far north as Uttaradit. (The latter is not mentioned by the author.)

On the other hand there is no doubt, either, that the whole of the present Gulf was once dry land; since submerged, as already found out by the late Russell Wallace as far back as in 1862. The author says that a rise of only 100 metres of the sea bottom would result in joining Sumatra to the Peninsula and making most of the Gulf quite dry.

On page 39 Professor Credner says that *Chieng* means a fortified town. So it does, but it should be added that its full meaning is a fortified town lying on a hill (see Colonel G. E. Gerini *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography* p. 118, line 7 from bottom). But this is by the way.

The Khorat plateau, which covers an area of 160,000 square kilometres, is on the whole flat, sloping down from heights in the south and the west of 1,300 and 800 metres respectively towards the Mekong river where the height is only from 100 to 200 metres above sea level. This plateau is bordered to the west by the long Dong Phraya Yen range, running from north to south, and in the south by the San Kampheng and Dong Rek ranges running roughly from west to north-east. At their junction in the south-west their highest point is reached in Khao Lem, which thus forms the south-western angle of the plateau, soaring up to a height of 1,328 metres. The Phu Phān range should be mentioned as characteristic of the eastern part of the Khorat plateau. Its main part runs in a north-western to south-eastern direction from a point south of the large inland lake, Nong Hān Sakol Nakhon, in the north to the mouth of the Mūn river in the south. At its northern extremity it branches off into two shorter branches—one to the west and another to the east. Their highest points reach, according to the author, only to a little over 500 metres. The true mountain land is, of course, North Siam, the former Monthons Pāk Payab, which consist of five more or less parallel mountain ranges between which lie the fertile valley plains,

called aptly by the author *intramontane plains*. The level of these plains varies from 450 metres above sea level at Mûang Fang to only 160 metres at Mûang Phrae.

When speaking about the isolated, often sugarloaf-shaped, hills so characteristic of the landscape in western and southern Siam, Professor Credner does away with the theory that such hills represent former islands now landlocked. The correct explanation is that they are the remains of former limestone ranges worn down by erosion during long periods.

Of special interest are the remains of ancient plateaux which have escaped the wear and tear of rivers. Such an old plateau is found in western Siam in the Meklong hill country between the sources of the Kwae Yai and Kwae Noi. It lies at a height of 600 metres. The Bô Luang plateau on the divide of the Mae Ping and the Salwin, the land of Karens and Lawā, at a height of from 900 to 1,000 metres, is another example of such ancient plateaux. Other remains of ancient plateaux are found on the east slope of Doi Suthep, at a height of 800 metres and west of Mûang Fāng, at a height of 1,300 metres, as well as between Chieng Kham and Bô Klûa in N. N. E. Siam. Many large plateaux are found in French Indo-China, as for instance the Nām Hûang plateau south of Paklai bordering our Changvad Loei (Amphoes Dansai and Tali), the extensive Chieng Kwang (by the French wrongly called *Tranh Ninh*) and the long series of plateaux in the Annamite Cordillera so well known for their excellent climate, such as Djiarai, Darlac, Boloven and others. The author says that the Boloven plateau is in Cambodia: this is a lapsus as it really lies in French Laos in the commissariat of Paksé, to the north of the river of the same name.

The author gives a very striking and instructive description of what he calls the Central Cordillera of Further India (the Arakan hills forming the Western, and the Annamite, the Eastern Cordilleras) which he divides into eleven *wings* (*coulissen*) as wings on a stage, beginning with the Den Lao range in the extreme north which reaches heights of over 2,000 metres. The height of Chieng Dao is given as 2,185 metres, that of Doi Suthep 1,670 metres, and of Doi Angka or Intanon 2,570 metres. Next follows the Tanon Thung Chai which goes as far south as 15° north, its highest point being Khao Mong Kotchu with 1,964 metres. Then comes the Tavai range with such peaks as Khao Chang Phûak (1,231 m.) and Khao Song

Kwae (1,328 m.). The fourth wing is represented by the Tenasserim range with peaks at heights from 1,000 to 1,500 metres. As an isolated group the Khao Sam Roi Yot is mentioned.

From 12° north begins the fifth wing which, running from N. N. E. to S. S. W., ends in Victoria Point. This range begins with peaks reaching up to 1,247 metres in height but subsides by and by until at Chumporn, it has been reduced to less than 100 metres. The sixth wing is the Phuket range, the seventh is the Khao Panom Bencha in the Krabi district and the eighth the Nakhon Sri Thammarat range. As belonging to this range are also considered the islands of Tao, Pangan and Samui. The highest points in this range are Khao Nong (1,400 m.) and the majestic Khao Luang (1,786 m.). The ninth, tenth and eleventh wings are represented by the Singora, Pattani and Telubin ranges. South of the Telubin range are other wings, but as these are situated in British Malaya they do not come in for a description here. The question whether these wings represent remains of a cretassic fold or a later anticlinal upheaval is not yet solved. The valleys of North Siam are enclosed by ranges of greater height than those of the central Cordillera. The eastern border of the extensive Chieng Mai plain is thus closed by the long range of hills called Khun Tān which towers up to the north-east of Chieng Mai in the peak of Khao Pachô (ปางจอ, and not Pa Dyok as the author writes) to a height of 2,012 metres. The divide between the Mae Wang and the Mae Yom reaches seldom more than 1,000 metres, as the mountains here consist of the soft permo-carbon limestone. Between the Phrae and Nān valleys runs a long limestone range called Phi Pan Nam whose highest peak is the picturesque Khao Padeng (1,100 m.). East of Nān, however, greater heights are again reached in Doi Phukha and Doi Phulanka (1,700 and 1,600 m.) and in the frontier hills (towards Franch Laos) there are peaks exceeding 2,000 metres in height. As belonging to the hill countries of Siam must also be considered the Nakhon Thai and Loei districts the greatest heights of which, however, do not exceed 1,000 metres. The Khao Sam Mūn and Khao Son Keo hills to the south-east of Phitsanuloke reach about 1,200 metres in height. The writer would add that the hill countries of Nakhon Thai and Loei and the northern part of the Sak Valley are very little explored and a detailed mapping and study of them would certainly be worth while. The writer, who has travelled widely in these regions can certainly testify that some of the most

extensive and picturesque scenery in Siam is met with here; and then to every peak or queerly shaped hill a legend or folk tale is attached. It is a land of mystery and charm.

When summing up the description of the hilly parts of Siam, as already mentioned above, the author arrives at the conclusion that they, i. e. the Central Cordillera and North Siam ranges, represent an older Himalayan folding of the earth's crust.

The author ends his description of Siam's hilly parts with the south-east, the Chantaburi and Banthat ranges, the former reaching a height of 1,650 metres. As already mentioned, granite forms the core of Khao Sabāb and Khao Krāt (the author writes Khao Krāt: the correct name is Trat, ตราด). The Chantaburi mountains are of course an extension of the Cardemom range (Pnom Kravanh) in Cambodia, and one may say that their western extremity is represented by the Mtiang Phanatsanikom plateau and the imposing Khao Khiu which soars up to a height of 700 metres, being clearly visible from Koh Si Chang. The rocky islands lying as a screen along the coast of Chantaburi, Rayong and Choburi represent a relief of the submerged land (of the present Gulf of Siam).

When treating the river systems of Siam the author says that the Mekhong is the oldest of all the rivers of Further India, together with the Salwin, and its course must have come into existence during the time following the last period when the sea covered the earth i. e. the upper Triassic. It must have been in being during the later triassic folding and also during the terrestrial stratifications of the younger Mesozoic age, when it may have assisted in a large measure to form the said stratifications. The Mekhong would also have witnessed the mighty volcanic eruption which created the Plateau des Bolovens. The most important tributary to the Mekhong from Siam is the Si-Mun or Mun-Chi, the river system of which waters the main part of eastern Siam, i. e. the three former Monthons of Nakhon Rajasima, Roi Et and Ubon and a part of Udorn.

It has formerly been supposed that the Mekhong once upon a time had its course from Chieng Sen southwards, Menam-wise, but Professor Credner says that the nature of the ground south of Chieng Sen goes against such a theory.

Our Menam Chao Phraya is, like the Irrawady, a younger river, but must formerly have had its mouth far to the south of Paknam at a place long since submerged in the sea. At that distant time the

rivers Meklong, Petchaburi and Bangpakong were tributaries to the Menam (and may become so again in the distant future if the present silting and slow rise of the land level continues).

The climatic conditions of Siam and what the author calls *water economics* are treated in an expert manner, including the river system of the Menam with all its branches. Here are just a few corrections: Menam Chao Phraya means *Her Excellency the mother of the waters* and is not a *royal* title. Menam Me Klong does not mean River-River. The correct spelling of its name should be Me Glong which means the Drum River. However, after consulting several Siamese language experts, it seems that the true meaning of this name is still uncertain.

On page 93 under the Khorat plateau the author mentions a Nam Tam. We suppose that it should be Nam Gam, the river which, draining the Nong Hân Sakol Nakhon, falls into the Mekong south of the famous That Phanom monument. The other large fresh water lake, also called Nong Hân (or Rahân), at Kumpavapi in Udorn, which is the source of Nam Pão, a northern tributary of Nam Chi, should have been mentioned too.

The different soils of the kingdom are next treated by the author, who says that all the silt soils are grey in colour while those of the hill slopes and mountains are of yellow, brown or reddish colour. Eroded laterite plays, because of its chemical composition, a great rôle in Further India. The author speaks of the famous basaltic red earth in Chantaburi and says that this kind of soil is eagerly sought for especially in French Indo-China for plantations. It might here be added that such red earth is found over a wide tract in the southern part of Changvad Ubon (south of the Mûn River) as well as in Changvad Srisaket. As far as I have been able to find out, this tract, which forms a kind of low broad ridge, stretches in a northeast-southwesterly direction from Amphoe Detudom to Khukhan, thus lying mostly in the districts occupied by the Kui people. This ridge is covered with high forest—the undergrowth being mostly dwarf palms (*kracheng*) whose leaves are used for making rice bags. In this red earth are also found the gigantic elephant yams which, during bad harvest periods, constitutes an important article of food. Whether this red earth of Ubon is of basaltic origin⁽²⁾ or is composed

(2) Dr. Pendleton tells me that the substance is of basaltic origin.

of eroded red permo-carbon lime, I am not able to say. The latter constitutes the soil where teak trees grow, by preference on the hills in north Siam.

It is well known that in former times the Khorat plateau had a much greater population than now,—a fact proved by the great number of temple ruins and deserted fortified villages, and even towns, which are found scattered especially in the big forest to the south of the Mūn river. The decrease in the population may be partly due to the long and cruel wars, which raged between Siam and Cambodia in the 14th and 15th centuries, accompanied by the deportation of the population of whole districts, but it is also due, no doubt, to a chemical process which takes place in the subsoil and which, according to Professor Credner, results in the formation of a ferruginous layer that prevents the ground water from rising to the surface, thereby making agriculture more or less impossible. The problem of finding new arable land for a considerable proportion of the peasant population of Khorat had in part become so acute that the Government, some time before the Constitution came into being, thought seriously of settling large communities of Thai Khorat on vacant land in the Nakhon Savan circle. One should think that the boring of artesian wells might be a good remedy for this state of affairs.

Siam is mainly a land of forests. To the tourist who only knows lower and central Siam this statement sounds strange, but it is a fact that 65% of the area of Siam is covered with forests. The ever-green rain forest is not only found in the Malay Peninsula but also in the south-east, on the banks of rivers and streams and on the humid slopes of the valleys. It grows luxuriously on the Khorat hills and on the mountains of the north where these are exposed to the monsoon rains. The true monsoon forest is, however, the dominating form of forest in North Siam. Though not so rich in species, especially of the palms and lianas, it is still a mighty forest with large trees, among them the giant teak, but it sheds its leaves during the dry season. In eastern and north-eastern as well as western Siam one meets the dry monsoon forest, by the French characteristically called *forêt clairière*. Here the species are few and the trees only reach a height of from 10 to 15 metres. This poverty is due to the poorer soil consisting of sand and laterite. The so-called savannahs of south Siam are the result of destruction of

former forests by the hand of man or by cyclones. To the forest types of Siam must be added the extensive mangrove forests which are found especially along the northern shores of the Gulf of Siam, now in part replaced by the *nipa* palms which have been partly planted by man. Professor Credner gives an excellent description of the evergreen rain forests of Siam which in majesty and luxuriant growth can compete with those of the Insulinde, the Congo and the Amazon. The king of these forests is the mai yāng, *Dipterocarpus alatus*, which may reach a height of 200 feet. Another giant is the mai takien, *Balanocarpus maximus*, which reaches the same height as the mai yāng. The evergreen rain forest contains a legion of other mighty trees besides pandanus and bamboos. Of the latter there are many species, among them the splendid *Dendrocalamus Hamiltonii* that towers up to a height of 25 metres. Of other important trees of the rain forest Professor Credner mentions the durian, the ipoh (both in the south) and the chaulmoogra oil tree, so important for the treatment of leprosy. Dr. Kerr estimates that the forests of Dong Phraya Yen contain about 200,000 of these useful trees. In the evergreen rain forests are also found many kinds of lianas, among them the rattan, and a host of beautiful orchids. Add to this gigantic ferns and many kinds of wild palms and still the picture of the giant forest is not complete. It constitutes a world of itself, mysterious and intensely living. Though by day absolute calm often reigns in its lofty halls—an almost painful calm—still one feels as if one hears, yea, sees the growth of life. One feels here the mighty, limitless, reproductive forces latent in Mother Nature's womb and the eternal circle of birth and death and birth again being made manifest before one's very eyes. When one has so often been travelling for weeks through these great forests an indelible impression of their grandeur and beauty is left in the memory for ever. At other times the forest may ring with the rhythmic but enervating chorus of the cicadas, while during early morning hours the halloos of the gibbons are heard. At night many queer sounds are heard, among them, at times, the roar of the royal tiger, and from outside the circle of one's watch fires the fiery eyes of some savage beast may be seen. The author gives a good description of the distribution of the teak trees in North Siam. He might have added that teak is also found on Phu Phăn to the south of Mueang Sakol Nakhon, though the trees found there do not reach the height and dimensions of those in North Siam. Space

forbids us to enlarge on the author's description of the true monsoon forests and the dry, monotonous, monsoon forests of north-east Siam. One notes, however, the author's extraordinary gift of true observation when treating these matters.

His treatment of the various forms of forest or vegetation in the Upper Meklong region, where he made a prolonged stay, is especially good, whether of the bamboo or thorn bush jungles.

When speaking of the pine forests of Siam Professor Credner mentions the pine forests of Bô Luang, south-west of Chieng Mai, as well as similar growths on the hills to the west of Müang Fāng and on the crests of most of the taller mountains in north Siam. The *pinus merkusii* is also found on the Khorat plateau. The writer has several times crossed an extensive forest of these pine trees which clothe a sandy ridge lying between the town of Surin and Amphoe Sangkha.

Professor Credner treats briefly the animal world of Siam and says here that Schomburgk's deer is probably now quite exterminated—a fact which is confirmed by the thorough researches made by Phya Indra Montri (F. H. Giles) published in his *Riddle of Cervus Schomburgkii*, J.S.S, N.H. Sup. Vol. XI, No. 1, 1937. He thinks that the *Bos sundaicus*, our Wua daeng, with its well proportioned limbs, splendid coloured skin and beautiful head is the finest of all wild oxen. We agree, though the kating, *Bos gaurus*, seems to us to be the most majestic of them. Professor Credner also thinks that the Siamese domesticated ox is in near family relation with *Bos sundaicus* and goes even so far as to opine that it has besides inherited various qualities from *Bos gaurus*, *Bos indicus* and *Bos frontalis*.

It is well known that cross breeds between the domesticated ox and the wild one, *Bos sundaicus*, are frequent—the tame cows meeting the bulls of the wild species when out grazing in the open forests. In this connection we remember seeing, when conveying and escorting the late Chao Phraya Aphai Phubesr and his retinue in 1907 from Battambang to Krabin, a cross between a kating and a tame cow. It was a magnificent specimen! It might not be a bad idea if such crossings both with kating and wua daeng were undertaken rationally, as this might produce a superior race of animal, larger and stronger, and thereby better suited for agricultural work and draught purposes, besides giving more and better meat.

With regard to the wild buffaloes Professor Credner doubts if these are really wild but thinks, as so many others do, that they are tame buffaloes *become* wild.

Such a herd of *wild* buffaloes existed formerly at Phinai, in Changvad Khorat, and they were certainly very wild, as they often chased people whether on foot or mounted. This herd was finally broken up, some of the animals being shot (some by H. R. H. Prince William of Sweden in 1912) and the remainder recaptured and re-tamed. Wild buffaloes *do* occur, however, in the forest on the slopes of the Dong Rek hills south of Kukhan, Nam Om, and Detudom, and as far as I have been able to find out, these buffaloes were never tame. It seems that the wild ones are not larger than the tame, but of a more slender though equally powerful build.

Professor Credner's chapter on the population of Siam is very well written. Indo-China represents, as he rightly says, one of the most motley and picturesque associations and mixtures of races anywhere to be found on the surface of this planet. All the various degrees of human development and culture are met with here, from the most primitive jungle folks, the Khā dong lüang and the Negritos, to the highly civilized Siamese.

The population may be roughly divided into those of the plains, the plough people, and those of the hills who use the digging stick (though the Lawā and Karen of N. W. Siam also use the plough for tilling their irrigated terraced paddy fields on the Bô Luang plateau and elsewhere).

The author seems to be too sweeping in his statement when he says that all the various groups of humanity living in Indochina belong to the Mongoloids or Mongolids, with exception of the Semang (Negritos). The Môn-Khmer people are at any rate not pure Mongoloids. His observations on what he calls *das Rassenbild*, the racial complex, are very accurate and much to the point. Common for all is the black lank hair, a true Mongoloid characteristic (the Lawā show, however, a tendency to be wavy-haired). Another Mongoloid characteristic, the oblique eye, is not very marked and is not met with among the Môn-Khmer or the purer Thai (or Malays). Professor Credner thinks that the oblique eye is not of a primitive Mongoloid origin but represents a later development.

The author speaks about Palaemongoloids and Younger Mongoloids and places the Thai between these two groups. The Môn-Khmer,

Lawā and some Khā people, like the Khamu(k), Chaobon, Tin and Chong are all included in the Palaemongoloids. The Lissu or Lissaw, the Mussö, Kô or Lahu as well as the white Karen are East Tibetan *Europide* people, while the Miao and Yao people represent the Younger Mongoloids.

The author also points out that the Thai of Siam are much mixed, in the north with Lawā, in the east with Kui, and in central Siam with Môn and Khmer, which of course, by now, is a well-known fact.

The author agrees with the French savants and Dr. Fritz Sarasin that the original population of Indochina was Negroid, but is less precise as regards the Austroloid influence, which no doubt was very important. All theories on the origin and history of the races of Indochina must be based on the finds made by M. Mansui and Mlle. Dr. Colani in the limestone caves of Annam and Tongking as well as the discoveries of the late Dr. van Stein Callenfels, and Messrs. Evans and Noone in the caves of Malaya. These finds establish the fact that prior to the arrival of the Proto-Malays, Indonesians, Austronesians or Austroasiatics or whatever we call them there were Negroids represented by Melanesians or Melanoids and Negritoes besides Proto-Australoids or Weddids, as Professor Baron von Eickstedt prefers to call them.

Who were the real aborigines of Indo-China? That is a question very difficult to reply to. However, apart from the possible existence of a cross between *Homo pekinensis* and *Pithecantropus erectus* (the Java man) we should say that the original population was Negroid, i. e. Melanoid and Negrito. In spite of Professor Credner's doubts about emigrations from the west we hold that these Negroids came from the west (ultimately from Africa, which may perhaps now be considered as the true cradle of humanity and as such also of the black race) followed by a wave of Proto-Australoids also from the west. A third wave coming from the north were the Proto-Malays or Indonesians. Finally we have the invasions of the Thai, Annamites and Burmese which are of quite recent date, i. e. less than 1500 years ago.

In view of Professor Baron von Eickstedt's racial theories concerning the origin of the various peoples of ancient India it seems that the theory of the Môn-Khmer being emigrants from India would have to be given up. The Môn-Khmer originated in Indo-China and therefore represent a mixture of Melanoids, Proto-Austra-

loids and Indonesians. We think that, while the Môn of the hinterland of Lower Burma, the Lawā and the Northern and Central Khā represent a mixture *less* influenced by Negroid elements, the southern Môn, the ancient Môn of the so-called Dvaravati, and the Khmer and Kui are strongly influenced by such a strain of Negroid blood. The inhabitants of Indochina are, says Professor Credner, *meso-* to *brachycephalics* with the exception of the Malays among whom *dolicocephalics* are met with. (The Red Karens also show long-headedness). This tendency to long-headedness may be ascribed to Australoid influence though it must be remembered that the Negroes of Africa are also *dolicocephalics*.

While engaged in writing this analysis of Professor Credner's book, I received a letter from him stating that according to von Eickstedt's latest study of the Chông people, these are not Negroids but Weddids. It will be remembered that up till now the late Dr. Brenguës' theory, that the Chông were strongly mixed with Negritos, has been generally accepted.

The languages of the Semang and Khā dong lüang⁽³⁾ represent no doubt the eldest tongues spoken in Indo-China in prehistoric times. Dr. Bernatzik's publication on the Khā dong lüang is therefore awaited with great interest.

The Môn-Khmer languages with their staccato sounds and rolling *r*'s as well as their whole vocabulary is widely different from any Mongolian language, though their syntax and grammar seem to be on the same model. A comparative study of the Australian languages and Môn-Khmer would no doubt show a certain relationship (a relationship already pointed out as we understand by Rev. Father W. Schmidt).

Space forbids us to discuss in detail the author's description of the people and their wanderings, as most of this is well known to readers of the *Journal of the Siam Society*. Suffice to say that it is well written and worth reading. Here, therefore, only a few additional remarks will be made. Speaking about the Semang, Professor Credner mentions two skull forms, the round and the long, of

(3) As the word "tong" in Khā tong lüang (ท่าทองเหลือง) is often misspelt the ทอง being transliterated as *thong* and wrongly translated into *gold*, I prefer to transliterate the hard Siamese ต by *d*, thus giving this consonant its true pronunciation.

which the latter must be due to a mixture either with big bodied Negroids or with Proto-Australoids.

The Khā dong liang have recently been studied by Dr. Bernatzik, who gives their proper name as Yumbri.

The Chao nām or Mōken have also been studied (in the Mergui Archipelago) by Dr. and Mrs. Bernatzik and a paper on them written by the Doctor appears in this issue of the J.S.S. The author has, as far as memory serves, given a better and fuller description of the life and social economics of what he aptly calls the people of the hoe and digging-stick culture than any other authority so far. This category includes almost all the hill tribes of Siam, some of which, on fleeing from Chinese oppression in south China, evidently have exchanged the plough for the hoe, a seemingly retrograde step. The observation of the author that the nourishment, or rather, lack of satisfactory nourishment, among the hill folk may have a direct bearing on their bodily features, even as far as the form of their skulls, is very worthy of consideration.

The myths of the northern Khā, as communicated to the author by M. Lagrèze of Luang Phrabang, should be noted by all students of this very fascinating group of peoples. On page 160 the author says that the Lawā nowadays buy the iron from which they manufacture their implements. This statement does not agree with the reviewer's observations. The Lawā of the Bô Luang plateau thus still mine iron ore themselves.

With regard to the Karens we have already pointed out in our review of the late Sir George Scott's *Burma and beyond* (J.S.S., Vol. XXIX, Part II) that the red Karens are, anthropologically speaking, very different from the white Karens because of their queer physique with the long narrow skulls. The red Karens may therefore represent a blending of Proto-Malays and Proto-Australoids.

When speaking of the Thai the author says (on page 178) that Lamphun was founded in the 6th century by that people (according to the late Dr. Dodd). This is of course wrong. Lamphun was founded in the 7th century by Môn colonists from Lophburi. The material culture of the Thai (the Siamese) is very well treated. One feels that this chapter has been written by an expert. The village organization according to the particular kind of surrounding country is well described and so is the typical Thai house or farmstead, one of the specialities of the author being the study of house building in

Indo-China. When treating the plans and fortifications of the old Thai towns, the author says the Chinese influence is evident here. We should think that the Indian influence counts for just as much. The gate towers (as seen in Khorat town) are, however, clearly of Chinese origin.

The influence and the number of Chinese immigrants in Siam has been studied thoroughly by Professor Credner. He arrives at the conclusion that the number of the Chinese in this country has generally been much exaggerated. Though the Chinese immigrants during the years 1918-29 numbered not less than 1,041,342 persons the number who remained in Siam was only about 400,000. The total number of pure Chinese or individuals of (recent) Chinese descent the author estimates at about two millions. We should think that the correct figure is around two and a half millions. Add to this half a million Khmer, Môn and Kui; three quarters of a million Malays, and one arrives at a figure of not less than ten and a half million Thai. The author points out the latent danger of housing such a numerous alien population (Chinese) whose ideals and culture are widely different from that of the Thai and who hold almost the entire trade and industry in their hands. It is therefore readily understood that the Government is wide awake to this national danger. The introduction of a quota system is, however, not sufficient as a means of protection. It will also be necessary for the young Thai generation to take up trade as a profession and train themselves up to compete successfully with the Chinese, as pointed out in the Financial Adviser's (Mr. Doll), admirable annual report for the year 1936-37. The writer is not anti-Chinese at all: on the contrary, he harbours the greatest admiration for this great people, and all his sympathy goes out to them in their present heroic struggle. But after all this is Siam, the land of the Thai.

It might be added that a not inconsiderable percentage of these south Chinese immigrants are undoubtedly of Thai blood, as they hail from old Thai districts in Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

The remainder of the author's book occupies itself with the material culture of Siam and we are not going to discuss this part in detail but would like to stress its importance for all practical business men of this country of whatever nationality they may be.

Under landscape and means of livelihood Professor Credner says that the cultivated area occupies 19 million rai or only 6% of the

total area. This means that Siam must still be considered a land of forests. The Menam plain is, of course, the granary of the kingdom. Next in importance comes the Khorat plateau with 4.6 million rai of paddy fields or 24% of the entire cultivated area. While the Menam plain with its heavy buffaloes is the swampy rice country *par excellence*, the Khorat plateau is a country where vast forests, wide plains with excellent grazing, and sandy paddy fields intermingle. The Khorat plateau is therefore the breeding ground for buffaloes and cattle, which are exported in great numbers to the inner circles (and in case of the cattle to Singapore too). Pigs are also bred in enormous numbers on the Khorat plateau and they constitute an important export.

The north, with its intramontane plains and hills, is different again. The Menam plain has its numerous rivers and canals for transport and travel and its inhabitants are more or less amphibious. It is otherwise in the east and the north where the bullock-drawn carts and pack bullocks or pack mules respectively serve as means of transport. The north which adds teak industry to agriculture and the breeding of domestic animals is also distinguished for its great numbers of tame elephants which work in its forests.

The author's tables indicating the agricultural work carried out according to the seasons in the various parts of the kingdom are very interesting and instructive.

When speaking of irrigation the author says (on page 215) that the large bamboo norias are rarely seen. On the contrary they are widely used on the Khorat plateau. The writer remembers that during three voyages by steam launch from Ubon to Thā Chang (the "port" of Khorat), undertaken in 1911, 1917, and 1918, he counted over 200 of such gigantic water wheels. The author also says that in tropical Indo-China one does not see such grandiose constructions of dams as those made by the Chinese. May we in this connection draw the attention to the two huge "barais" situated to the east and the west of Angkor? Big water reservoirs are also met with in other parts of Cambodia as well as in east Siam, for instance at the temple of Mūang Tam (Amphoe Talung) besides many others, still filled with water, now lying unutilized near old fortified but deserted towns in the great forest covering the southern parts of the Changvads of Nakhon Rajasima, Buriram and Surin.

When treating of the modern irrigation system of lower central Siam as existing to-day it might be pointed out that the Siamese peasant of this part of the country has not yet grasped the essentials of irrigation, in contrast to his brothers in the north who are familiar from ancient times with this art.

Since the author wrote about the supplementary cultivations and the industries developing out of them, the Government of this country has established a sugar factory at Lampang and a paper mill at Kanburi, and it is possible that Siam's army officers have other plans in view for fostering new industries.

The vexatious problem of how to make an important yeoman of the Thai peasant is also treated by the author. We think that the only way is by making more use of co-operative societies and agricultural education, the latter to include agricultural model farms. This seems to be the only means by which the peasant can be liberated from the grip of the Chinese middleman and usurer who now keeps him down in economic thralldom. The Siamese peasant is one of the best fellows in the world, hardworking at times, hospitable and full of good humour *but* he must be cured of his delight in gambling and easy-going ways, in order to become the really solid backbone of the nation.

Under teak wood industry in the north Professor Credner gives the number of tame working elephants in 1929 as 4,378 animals. The total number of tame elephants in Siam was, according to the Statistical Yearbook for 2480, (1937/38) 10,061 animals. With the coming reduction (in 1940) of the areas of concessions given to foreign companies, this number may be considerably reduced.

When speaking of the Government Power Station in the capital it is curious that the author should have forgotten to mention the Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd. as the greater supplier of electric power with their electrically driven tramway lines.

We are sorry that we cannot agree when the author speaks of the clean and properly kept up rest-houses up country. Our experience is just the opposite.

On page 130 the author says that the experiment with navigation on the Mekhong river of canoes with outboard motors have failed. This is happily *not* the case. Canoes with outboard motors now run regularly between Chiengsen and Luang Prabang and between the latter place and Viengchan.

The map with indications of where the various means of transport (besides our railways and coasting vessels) are in vogue is very useful. For the Menam plain it is the canoe and buffalo cart, in east Siam the bullock cart, and in south Siam both the buffalo and bullock cart.

The Siam Society does not mix up with politics. Being a society, where members of all nationalities are equally welcome, politics are banned unless they have become more or less history. When the author therefore, on page 314 and elsewhere, says that Siam was forced into the war on the side of the Allied Powers we think he is wrong. The outcome of Siam's participation in the world war was, as is well known, the abolition of all extraterritoriality rights and her being placed on an equal footing with all other nations. To quote in German *Und dann is alles gesagt!* It must not be forgotten that in His late Siamese Majesty, King Vajiravudh, Siam was lucky to have a very clever and highly gifted statesman.

On page 331 the author speaks about Thai princes who from their fortresses in north Siam, as early as in the 9th century A. D., invaded the fertile region of Sukhothai. Nothing so far justifies one in supposing that there already existed in the 9th century Thai principalities in north Siam, which at that time must have been more or less under the sway of the young and strong Hariphunchai power. On page 333 the author is quoting Mr. W. A. R. Wood when stating that Lamphun in the 9th century was a Thai principality. That is of course wrong. Lamphun was not conquered by the Thai Yuan (under King Meng Rai) until the year 1290.

Page 339. It is doubtful whether *prang* is the symbol of the *linga*. The Siamese *prang* is anyhow directly descended from the Khmer *prasat* or tower.

Page 344. The dwellings of the Siamese Buddhist monks are not called *kana* but *kuti*. *Kana* means a division or group.

Page 348. The author mentions the Siamese orchestra as *bimbat*: it should be *phimphat*, of course.

Page 357. The Siamese letters have *not* been derived from the Pali but from a South Indian alphabet (via Cambodia).

Page 358. We are glad to see the author paying a well deserved tribute to the excellent work of the Danish Gendarmerie officers who have contributed so much to the establishment of the internal peace and order of the kingdom. As far as we know other authors have

paid but scant attention to the work of the late Phya Vasuthep (General Gudav Schau) and his men.

The book contains a very good general index and a complete and most useful index of literature arranged according to the various subjects.

And may this most interesting, useful and inspiring book be recommended to all earnest students of the land of the Thai.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, the 13th September 1938.

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Berg, C. C. : *Opmerkingen over de chronologie van de oudste geschiedenis van Majapahit en over Krtarajasajayawardhana's regeering*, (Observations on the chronology of the ancient history of Majapahit and on the regime of Krtaraja-), pp. 135-240.

Bulletin du Jardin Botanique (Buitenzorg).

Serie III, Vol. XVI, September 1938.

Danser, B. H. : *The Loranthaceae of French Indo-China and Siam*, pp. 1-63.

Records of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Vol. XXXIX, part 4.

Chopra, B. & Das, K. N. : *Further notes on the Crustacea Decapoda in the Indian Museum* :— note IX : Three collections of Crab from Tavoy and the Mergui archipelago, pp. 377-434.

AN INITIAL MEETING.

For Associate Membership.

At the last annual meeting of the members of the Siam Society, the rules were changed to enlarge the class of membership, in an effort to attract Siamese graduates from Siamese or foreign Universities. This alteration was made in the hope that the facilities the Society was able to offer for the continuation of study, by the use of the Society's growing library, and the privilege of attending all meetings held by the Society, might appeal to these post-graduates.

On August 10th, these newly elected associate members were invited to meet the members of the Council with the dual object of being formally welcomed to membership and of making personal acquaintance with the facilities the Society offers to the associates.

The associate members were welcomed by the President, who in the course of a brief speech said :

As President of the Siam Society it affords me great pleasure on behalf of the Council and the Members of this Society to bid you a hearty welcome. I bid you welcome in your capacity as associate members but with the fervent hope that in time to come you may be enrolled as full members. Believe me, we are very happy to see you amongst us and we take this as a happy sign of an awakening interest in our work among the University-trained youth of Siam. The Siam Society counts among its one hundred and forty members only between thirty and forty ordinary Siamese members,—a number which is all too small.

However, the fact that seventeen associate members have now joined our Society gives us a hope that better times are coming. Since the inception of this Society, now more than thirty-four years ago, the main part of the work has been carried out by foreigners, but with

your joining us we shall look forward to more and more of the work being done by nationals of Siam, which is only as it should be. Remember, the name of this Society is the Siam Society.

The aims of our Society are the investigation and encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in relation to Siam and neighbouring countries. As you will see this programme is a very broad one and it embraces such sciences as anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, folklore, sociology, religion, philology, history, geography, geology, zoology and botany besides fine and applied arts, architecture, literature, poetry and drama.

You are welcome too choose any of these sciences or branches for your personal investigation and research and we shall be happy if you will do so. In this connection I would like to say that the Society will always be ready with advice and assistance whenever such should be sought. May I finally draw your attention to the Society's emblem which is the head of the god of wisdom, Ganesha or Phra Phikanesuan, and our motto which, translated is, *Knowledge makes for friendship*.

That means that besides welcoming you as members of the Siam Society we also welcome you as our friends, and may a long and friendly co-operation between you and us be the outcome of this meeting to-day.

Thereafter the Honorary Librarian (Phya Srishtikar Banchong) showed the associates over the contents of the library, and copies were presented them of the Index to the first twenty-five volumes of the Society's journals, together with reprints of the reviews of publications of other journals, from the Siam Society's journal Volume XXX, pts. 1 & 2.

After a tour of the library, the new members and the Council assembled in the body of the hall when Mr. Walter Zimmerman, one of the sponsors of the scheme for this new class of membership, addressed them as follows:

There are few greater fallacies than the assumption that education is crammed into the few years between the start and finish of a prescribed academic programme. This is true whether we are thinking in terms of a secondary school or the unusual advantages of university and graduate experiences. In other words, one cannot complete an education in five or fifty years. To be worthy of the name, education must be a life-long pursuit.

The average normal mind apparently has no limit for assimilating impressions and ideas providing it is controlled by healthy will-power. Education, therefore can be conceived as a life-long, ever-enriching endeavour. Knowledge is not divided into limited compartments. It is without bounds or limits, and has implications of which a life time is not long enough to do more than scratch the surface.

Formal education often has a deadening effect upon the mind. Without realizing it the student follows the secondary goal, that of merely conforming to the conventional standards of academic achievement which are apt to be superficial. The result is that the imagination and curiosity of the mind are dulled, and education, in its truest sense, ceases at the end of the class-room experience. The development of mind and personality stops far short of its potential goal. How tragic when the principal purpose of a school is to discipline and condition the mind in order that the higher goals of education may be reached. Real freedom in education comes when the preparatory or school period is over. Then the student discovers the deepest joys of learning, because the points of departure in the learning process are within his own fields of interest and personal experience.

Therefore, great scientists do not all come from University halls. Many emerge from obscure and unexpected places, where they have in a selfless spirit applied what they knew, to a condition or a human need, and by so doing have unearthed new fragments of truth. This kind of thing has given Pasteurs, Curies, Edisons, Pupins, Oslers and Grenfells and scores of other benefactors to the world.

Before moving on to more specific aspects of our purpose in meeting here today, I should like to share with you a definition of an educated man, as conceived by a friend of mine who is a leading executive and educator of North America.

An educated man is one who has the mentality to think clearly, the will to work accurately, the culture to recognize, appreciate and apply the good, the true and beautiful wherever found, the democracy to maintain the common touch, the social conscience to relate himself helpfully to society at some point beyond vocation and its reward, and who has come to see in the universe not a machine, but a purpose, and behind that purpose a creative principle.

A number of Siamese young people, particularly from among those who have studied abroad, have confessed to me some of the difficulties

they encounter upon their return to Siam. They come back with high resolves to keep abreast of current progress in their own particular fields of interest.

But upon their arrival home, there is the customary round of visiting with relatives and friends to be made; the available supply of scientific books and magazines is limited; a flat pocketbook prohibits buying books from abroad; there are no professional societies to join or lectures to attend; there is a new job (often one that has no connection whatever with the vocation they have been trained for) to be mastered; and worst of all, there is the antagonism and contempt that a returned student meets from fellow-workers who have not had his advantages.

All these tend to discourage the student and unless he has unusually strong will power, he soon is content to follow the path of least resistance. When he accepts the latter plane of conduct, he casts discredit upon the whole purpose of his training!

It has occurred to members of the Siam Society Council that perhaps the Society could contribute to the university graduate's desire to continue his loyalty to some of the ideals inculcated in his training period. The founders of the Siam Society showed real wisdom and comprehension in formulating the purpose of the organization. Let us review the second and fourth paragraphs under the *names and objects section*:

2. The objects of the Society shall be the investigation and encouragement of Art, Science and Literature in relation to Siam and the neighboring countries.

3. In order to further the objects of the Society to their fullest extent, Sections of the Society shall be constituted, as far as may be found possible, for the purpose of promoting and encouraging specialised study in particular subjects.

The following subjects shall, either singly or in groups, be considered as suitable for the formation of sections—Agriculture, Anthropology, Archaeology, Fine and Applied Arts, History, Literature, Natural History, Numismatics, Philately, Philology, Transport, Travel, and such other subjects as may, from time to time, appear suitable to the Council for the above purpose.

The Society does not have reference or laboratory facilities for extensive research in scientific, historical, vocational or avocational fields, but it can act as a sponsoring body and as a centre for filing data,

presenting and discussing findings and for meeting of her studiously inclined people. It might well become a clearing house for an inclusive and co-operative experiment in adult education wherein the museums, libraries, schools, historical and social institutions of the whole community could be co-ordinated. Experiments of this kind elsewhere have developed a balanced and practical adult education programme for a higher grade of citizenship. Transitions under way in Siam will eventually call into service lay and volunteer services and organizations of this character.

The addition of the associate classification to the Society's membership should have a two-fold value. It should give the recently graduated student a contact with a group that is sympathetic to his needs and interests; and to the Society it should give the additional resource of young minds, who are in the midst of school, laboratory and vocational problems relating to the development of our country.

Associate membership in the Siam Society does not offer you a complete service in any of the several fields of its interests. It rather provides you younger people an opportunity to unite with the Society in mutual helpfulness.

The President bringing the informal gathering to a conclusion, expressed regret that several associate members were, by reason of official duties, both in Bangkok and elsewhere, prevented from attending.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1938.

THE COUNCIL.

The Council for 1938 was composed as follows :

Major E. Seidenfaden	<i>President</i>
H. H. Prince Dhani Nivat	} <i>Vice-Presidents</i>
R. Lingat	
Phra Arj Vidayakom	
J. T. Edkins	
Phya Srishtikar Banchong	<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>
J. E. Davies	<i>Hon. Librarian</i>
U. L. Guehler	<i>Hon. Editor, Journal</i>
	<i>Hon. Secretary N. H.</i>
	<i>Section and Hon.</i>
	<i>Editor, N. H. Supp.</i>
E. Healey	<i>Hon. Architect</i>
R. Adey Moore	<i>Hon. Secretary</i>
H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana	
H. S. H. Prince Sakol Varnakara Varavarn	
H. S. H. Prince Varnvaidyakara Varavarn	
Phya Indra Montri	
Phya Sarasastra Sirilaksana	
J. Burnay	
Rev. Father L. Chorin	
W. A. Zimmerman	
Ong Thyee Ghee	

The actual number of members on the Council should be twenty-one, but the vacancy created by the retirement of Dr. A. G. Ellis in March, 1938, has not been filled, thus leaving the number at twenty.

The Council held eleven meetings during the year, the average attendance at these being ten.

The Annual General Meeting was held on February 19th, 1938, when the incoming President, Major Erik Seidenfaden, paid a tribute to Phya Indra Montri, the retiring President, who had stated his desire not to stand for re-election, which decision was received with great regret. At this meeting Rules 5 and 7 of the Society were altered to make possible the admission of graduates of the Chulalongkorn University, the University of Moral and Political Sciences, and any other institution of higher learning, approved by the Council, as Associate Members at a reduced subscription of five baht per year, for a period not exceeding five years. Mr. R. S. le May, a corresponding member, was made an Honorary Member at this meeting.

On the 1st January 1939, the membership was as follows:—

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Ordinary	Associate	Free
18	10	4	132	18	4

making a total of 186 as compared with 171 in 1937, 176 in 1936 and 171 in 1935. The rise is due to the election of 18 associate members, without whom the total would be 168.

PUBLICATIONS.

During 1938 two very important numbers of the Journal were issued these being Vol. XXX, Part 2, and Vol. XXX, Part 3. Part 2 is a reprint of a rare translation of Van Vliet's Historical Account of Siam in the 17th century, printed for H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab and translated in 1904 by W. H. Mundie, M. A., with a critical analysis by Phya Indra Montri (Mr. F. H. Giles) which was concluded in Part 3.

Prior to his going on leave the Hon. Editor proposed the appointment of an Editorial Committee, consisting of Monsieur J. Burnay, former Hon. Editor, H. H. Prince Dhani and Mr. W. A. Zimmerman, to assist and advise on editorial matters. This was sanctioned by the Council.

During the absence of the Hon. Editor, H. H. Prince Dhani acted as Editor in a very efficient manner.

The Natural History Supplement Vol. XI, No. 2, was published during the year and included an extraordinarily interesting paper on the butterflies of Siam, by D. M. Noel-Davidson, F. R. Z. S., and J. J.

Macbeth. Photographs of a fine Sambhar stag's head were also published in this number.

Craib's Flora of Siam, Volume II, part 4, was also issued in the course of the year.

Dharmasastra. The blocks for this work are in the Society's possession, these having been printed off. Mr. J. Burnay hopes shortly to complete the work.

MEETINGS.

Seven meetings were held during the year 1938, three being ordinary general meetings, two, special meetings organised by the President, one, a study-section meeting, and the other, the Annual General Meeting.

The special meetings organised by the President (Major Erik Seidenfaden) were:

February 4th, a lecture in Siamese on *Tribal dresses* to 160 undergraduates of the Chulalongkorn University.

February 6th, a lecture in English on *Tribal dresses* to 30 Members of Lodge St. John, Bangkok, with their wives.

The ordinary general meetings were as follows:—

(1) March 28th, a lecture by Professor Klaus Pringsheim on *Siamese Music*, followed by a concert at which selections of Siamese and European music were played by Professor Klaus Pringsheim and Mr. P. N. Hydon.

(2) November 10th, a lecture by Dr. Walter M. Horton of the Graduate Faculty of Oberlin College on *Religion and Culture in the Pacific Area*.

(3) December 28th, an exhibition of films by H. R. H. the Prince of Jainad on archaeological sites in Siam and neighbouring countries.

The study-section is indebted to H. H. Prince Dhani, who conducted members round the cloisters of Wat Phra Keo on the morning of July 31st, and explained the Siamese Ramakien, the mural paintings of which are found in the cloisters.

HUNTING ASSOCIATION.

At the meeting of the Council on February 2nd, the then President, Phya Indra Montri, reported on the fact that he had attended a meeting held at the Phya Thai Military Hospital in connection with the proposed formation of a Hunting Association, or a Zoological Society of Siam as it was more properly called. After a discussion it was

decided to appoint Mr. C. J. House to represent the Siam Society on the Council of the Zoological Society, and to allow the Bangkok branch of the Society whose headquarters are at Lopburi to meet in the Siam Society's home.

TRIBAL DRESSES.

Two lectures were delivered as reported above. The Society has presented the collection of tribal dresses to the Department of Fine Arts in the hope that it would form the nucleus of the new ethnographical branch of the National Museum. The Fine Arts Department has accepted the collection, and the National Museum is now arranging for a permanent exhibition of these dresses as an integral portion of the Museum.

PROTECTION OF FAUNA.

Mr. C. J. House, early in the year, forwarded a list of wild game and birds to be included in the list for the London International Conference, held in May 1938 for the preservation of *Fauna* and *Flora* of Tropical Asia and the Western Pacific, and also notified this conference that a law was being drafted in Siam dealing with the preservation of certain types of *Fauna*.

A FAREWELL LUNCHEON.

Mr. C. J. House, for many years Treasurer of the Society, and Dr. Ellis, the Leader of the Natural History Section, both of whom retired from Siam in the early part of the year, were given a farewell luncheon at the Trocadero Hotel by members of the Society, at which ladies were present. The President paid a tribute to their labours on behalf of the Society and the two guests replied.

NATURAL HISTORY SECTION.

The suggestion made by Dr. A. G. Ellis that the Natural History Section should be wound up was not accepted, Mr. C. J. House urging that papers were coming in and that Mr. U. L. Guehler, the present leader, had offered to act for Mr. House during what was then expected to be his home furlough.

CITY WALLS.

A survey of the remaining old walls of the city was made during the year by the President, who was assisted by Mr. E. Healey. The

plans made during the survey were shown and explained. A letter was addressed to the Director-General of the Fine Arts Department on the question of the preservation of such portions of these walls as now existed, and the latter expressed his sympathy with the project.

SOCIETY'S RULES IN SIAMESE.

Prince Varnvaidyakara Varavarn forwarded his promised translation of the rules of the Society for registration with the authorities and was thanked for his kindness.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

The new Associate Members visited the Society's home, on August 10th, the arrangements being in the hand of Prince Dhani and Mr. Zimmerman. They were welcomed in speeches by the President and Mr. Zimmerman.

THE LIBRARY.

Mr. U. L. Guehler resigned his position as Honorary Librarian and Phya Srishtikar Banchong was appointed in his place. Mr. U. L. Guehler was thanked for his work as Honorary Librarian over a long period.

The work of collecting and binding Journals received as exchanges from other societies has been maintained. The library has been extensively used both by members and visitors.

EXCURSIONS.

Some excursions were suggested, one to Ayudhya, one to Angkor Wat, etc., and a sub-committee consisting of the President, Phya Sarasastra Sirilakshana, Phya Srishtikar Banchong, Mr. Ong Thye Ghee and Mr. Zimmerman were appointed to explore the possibilities. Subsequently the sub-committee reported on possible places for the excursions and the cost per head.

NATURAL HISTORY SECTION.

No meetings of the Natural History Section were held during the year.

ACCOUNTS.

Mr. J. T. Edkins took up the duties of Honorary Treasurer on the retirement of Mr. C. J. House.

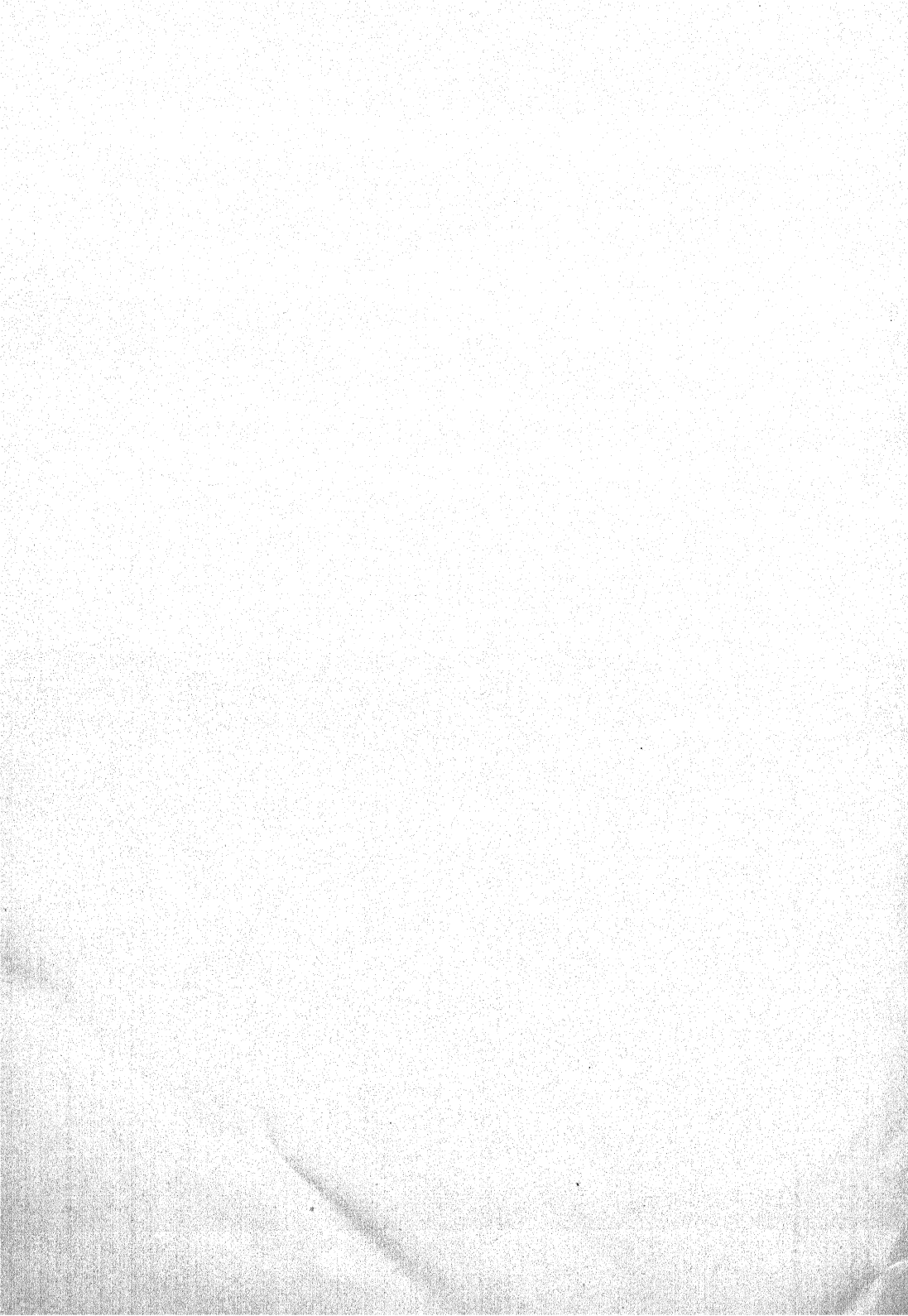
The Society's activities during the year were maintained without reducing the Society's reserves. The income covered the usual expenses and an extraordinary expense in the form of the cost of painting the care-taker's house.

SOCIETY'S BUILDING.

Repairs costing Tcs. 281.45 were made to the building and a better lighting system, as suggested, was installed. The building has also been painted. The question of the raising of the Society's compound has been held in abeyance till the new Budget is considered.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1938.

Receipts.		Tes.	Stgs.	Expenditure.		Tes.	Stgs.
To balance brought forward from 1937	847.41	By Wages, Clerk	756.00
Subscriptions, 1937	...	Tes. 100		" " Caretaker	
do. 1938	...	" 2,625		" Postage a/c Hon. Treasurer	...	Tes. 360.00	
do. 1939	...	" 200		" & Yetties (including Hon. Secretary postage)	...	396.00	
do. 1940	...	" 25		" Printing Journal, Vol. XXX, parts 2 & 3	...	26.66	
do. 1941	...	" 9.71		" N. H. Supplement, Vol. XI, No. 2	...	288.25	
Associates	...	" 30	2,989.71	" Craib's "Flora", Vol. II, part 4	...	1,333.00	
	...	" 30		" (General) & Stationery	...	299.75	
	...	" 30		" Authors Separates	...	420.00	
	...	" 30		" Wrapping parcels	...	165.56	
Sales, Journal of S. S.	...	Tes. 255.75		" Binding books	...	25.00	
Nat. History Supp.	...	" 88.69		" Editorial expenses	...	16.71	
Credner's "Ta-li Region"	...	" 4.50		" Hire of P. O. Box	...	46.75	
le May's "Coinage of Siam"	...	" 77.96		" Insurance on Building	...	53.40	
Craib's "Flora of Siam"	...	" 594.30		" " Stocks	...	20.00	
Stamp Catalogue	...	" 15.75	1,036.95	" Light and Fans	...	85.67	
	...	" 15.75		" Water	...	60.00	
	...	" 15.75		" Meeting expenses & upkeep	...	16.71	
	...	" 15.75		" Painting Caretaker's House	...	46.75	
	...	" 15.75		" Loss in exchange	...	53.40	
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	...	" 15.75			...	16.71	
	...	" 15.75			...	46.75	
	...	" 15.75			...	53.40	



CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

ELECTIONS.

HONORARY MEMBER.

February 16th 1938—Mr. R. S. le May.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

May 4th—Luang Vichit Vadakarn.

J. A. Hjartved.

September 7th—H. S. H. Prince Ajavadis Diskul.

October 12th—H. S. H. Prince Sanit Prayurasakdi Rangsit.

J. O. Hassig.

J. Thode.

November 2nd—Monsieur Brionval.

J. R. Holt.

J. H. Brown.

C. V. Endahl.

December 7th—Phra Rajadharm Nides.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

May 4th—Momluang-ying Bunlua Kunjorn.

Nai Ua Chandravongse.

September 7th—Nai Kliow Bunnag.

RESIGNATIONS.

H. E. M. Martin

F. R. Dolbeare

Dr. O. Schwend

Luang Saman Vorakit

Nai Prachuab

Nai Thonglaw

Bunnag

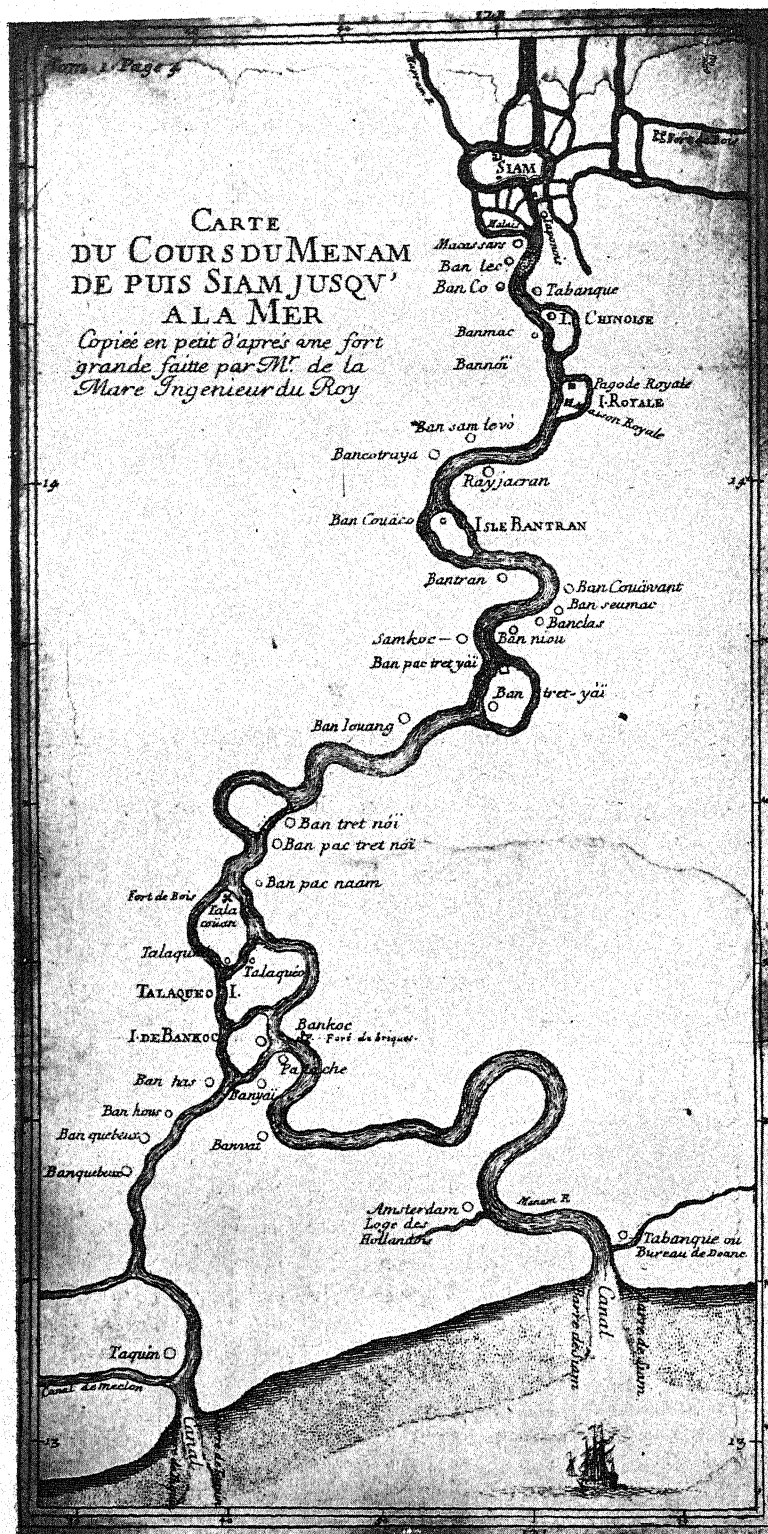
Sugandaman^(a)

C. J. House

Dr. H. Gerlach

^(a) Associate Member.

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M. de la Mare's map of the Lower Menam.

A FRENCH GARRISON AT BANGKOK IN 1687-88.

The Portuguese text and English translation of the letter whereby
Phaulkon agreed to admit French troops into Bangkok,
presented with a commentary

by

E. W. HUTCHINSON.

The article entitled *Four French State Manuscripts*, which was published in vol. XXVII, pt. 2. of the *Journal of the Siam Society*, contains an account of the circumstances which led King Louis XIV of France to despatch a military expedition to Siam. The present article, after briefly recapitulating these circumstances, is concerned with Phaulkon's reception of that expedition, as revealed in a letter which he wrote on October 3rd, 1687 to Tachard, who arrived ahead of the expedition, in order to arrange for its admittance into Bangkok.¹

A copy of that letter has recently come to light amongst the unclassified manuscripts at the Oriental Library in Tokyo, and is reproduced below with a translation. The manuscript, which is a copy, is in Portuguese.² With it is a letter in French signed by Phaulkon and addressed to the Jesuit, La Chaise, in Paris, dated November 20th, 1686; also a long but incomplete account in French by the Jesuit, De Bèze, concerning Phaulkon's fall. These documents were formerly in the possession of the late Dr. G. E. Morrison (at one time correspondent of *The Times* in Peking). In the year 1917 Dr. Morrison's library was purchased by Baron Iwasaki, who removed it to

¹ This opportunity is taken to correct the last word of line 23, on p. 190, which should be 1687, and not 1686.

² The superscription in French is as follows:—

Lettre de Mr. Phaulkon au P. Tachard par la quelle il lui promet l'exécution de tout ce que le Roy a désiré de luy.

Japan, where its contents were placed in the Oriental Library, Toyo Bunko, at Tokyo.

It is uncertain how these papers, which would belong naturally to Jesuit archives, came into Dr. Morrison's possession: it is suggested that he may have purchased them from some antiquarian in Europe, who in turn had acquired them after the precipitate departure of the Jesuits from Rome in 1870, when many of their less valuable papers were left behind by them and dispersed.

In 1915 Mr. Adey Moore of *The Bangkok Times* received a letter from Dr. Morrison who stated that he possessed certain papers which concerned the history of Siam in the xviiith century. Armed with this information the writer went in 1936 to Tokyo where the papers were discovered, thanks to the initiative and zeal of Miss Fumiko Sakaki, (the Librarian's assistant at Toyo Bunko), and photostat copies were obtained.

It may be assumed from the superscription in French of our copy of Phaulkon's letter of October 3rd, 1687 that the copyist was a Frenchman. The original may well have been taken to France by Tachard in 1688 and the copy made there for the archives of the Jesuits. If Tachard kept the original, it doubtless perished with him when he died in 1712 at Chandanagor in India. I am much indebted for his generous assistance in the translation to Mr. Jean Burnay, who furthermore transcribed the photostat copy of the MS. Thanks too are due to Dr. J. de Campos, who helped with the translation, and checked the transcription. In his opinion the corruptions in the text may be ascribed to the copyist's ignorance of Portuguese.

It will be recalled that Bishop Pallu, the pioneer of French evangelisation in Siam and China, was responsible for arousing the interest which King Louis took for a short time in Siam. The Bishop's last visit to Siam in 1682 occurred at a moment when King Narai was anxiously looking for some counterpoise to the ascendancy of the Dutch in the East, which he felt was a menace to the independence of Siam. It so happened that in 1678 a young Greek adventurer, Constantine Gerakis—better known as Constant Faulcon, Monsieur Constance, or Phaulkon—who had served the English East India Company for some years as a seaman, followed the Company's Agent, Burnaby, to Siam.

He had there obtained rapid promotion under Burnaby, who, shortly before the Bishop's arrival had encouraged him to exchange into the service of the Treasury, where Burnaby expected Phaulkon would be useful to the Company's interests, for which reason—combined with his fluency in Siamese—he was accepted by the Bishop as interpreter at the Audience granted to the latter by King Narai in 1682. Siamese and Portuguese were the languages employed at the Audience,—the Bishop knowing no English, and Phaulkon no French. Phaulkon appears to have attracted King Narai's attention at that Audience, for thereafter he advanced so rapidly in the royal favour that during 1686 and 1687 his influence with King Narai was all powerful, leading ultimately to the downfall of them both in 1688.

In 1680 King Narai had already despatched Phra Phipat on a mission to France to enlist the support of that country against the Dutch. That embassy never arrived, having been lost off the Cape; and it was not until 1684 that Siam became a matter of interest in France, when two Siamese Envoys visited the French Court, escorted by Fr. B. Vachet, a member of the French missionary force in Siam. Vachet appears to have spoken well of Phaulkon in Paris and to have impressed La Chaise, the King's Confessor and a Jesuit, with the idea that Phaulkon (a friend of the Jesuits) might be useful in Siam as an Agent for France whose policy was then directed by Jesuits. The result was that Vachet and his charges travelled back to Siam with an imposing Embassy from King Louis to King Narai: its object was to find means whereby the military support of France, which King Narai desired as protection against the Dutch, might be given in such a way as to serve both the interests of Catholicism and of France.

The ambassador, Chevalier de Chaumont, appears to have considered that his mission would be achieved if he persuaded King Narai to adopt the Catholic Faith of King Louis, whose ally he would then qualify to become. On approaching Phaulkon he found him zealous for Catholicism, but opposed on grounds of expediency to any change of religion by the King of Siam until the new religion had been accepted by a majority of his subjects. The tenacity with which Chaumont and Phaulkon each maintained his individual point of view led to friction between them. Meanwhile, Phaulkon confided to one of the Jesuit astronomers who had come out with Chaumont—Fr. Guy Tachard—a plan of his own for effecting the conversion of Siam

through the influence of Frenchmen who were to be chosen and trained in France for a career in Siam as officials under Phaulkon's control. Tachard was to return to France at once and submit the plan to Louis through La Chaise.

At the end of November, shortly before he was due to set sail again for France, Chaumont at last consented to discuss material in place of religious subjects with Phaulkon, who then offered a base at Singora together with extra-territorial and evangelistic facilities, subject to certain reservations and to King Louis' consent. Chaumont, in the hope of winning King Narai's conversion by a last generous gesture, suggested spreading the report of an alliance between Siam and France when he called at Batavia. Phaulkon, as Siam's representative, could thus claim that the honours of the diplomatic encounter were all his own. He sealed his triumph by obtaining the loan from Chaumont of a naval engineer, Chevalier de Forbin, who much against his will was detained in Siam to modernise the fortifications of Bangkok. He also detained Tachard's five Jesuit colleagues to serve the Observatory in course of construction at Lopburi instead of sending them to China, as originally intended.

The early days of 1686 following Chaumont's departure were probably the time of Phaulkon's greatest power; but even then the clouds were gathering for the storm which was to destroy him two and a half years later; for the sudden access to great power made of the former seaman a despotic martinet, hated by all. Forbin, having incurred Phaulkon's displeasure, discovered that his food had been poisoned, and suspected Phaulkon. Two English seamen were imprisoned and starved until they yielded to Phaulkon's demand for nails from their cargo consigned elsewhere. Another one, when ill-treated, appealed to the French Bishop; whereupon the French missionaries were reprimanded for disrespect to the King's Minister: their sympathy was further alienated by the support given by Phaulkon against them to the Jesuits who were still reluctant to acknowledge the French Bishop's ecclesiastical supremacy. During the summer of 1686, certain Macassar refugees in Siam joined with the discontented elements in the native population and staged a revolt which was only suppressed after hard fighting in which Phaulkon all but lost his life. Forbin in Bangkok was hard put to it to drive off the rebels, and left Siam in disgust at the end of 1686.

Again, a quarrel of long standing between Phaulkon and his previous masters, the English East India Company, became embittered during 1686 through the action of his port agent at Mergui, Samuel White, who with Phaulkon's consent raided the shipping in the Bay of Bengal under pretext of retaliation for injuries inflicted upon White by an Indian trade-official in Golconda. The East India Company at Madras, as a near neighbour of Golconda, suffered both materially and morally from the effect of the consequent piracies which were carried out by Englishmen in White's pay.³ The result was that King James II. of England issued a proclamation in July 1686, recalling all Englishmen in Siamese service. In the following November, Phaulkon showed appreciation of the menace implied in that proclamation by suggesting to La Chaise in his letter of November 20th, 1687 that the French should occupy Mergui. In the following spring, two English warships sailed from Madras for Mergui under command of Capt. Anthony Weltden, who was commissioned to arrest White with his accomplices, and to occupy Mergui pending exaction of compensation from Siam for theirs and for Phaulkon's misdeeds. Although Phaulkon was lucky in that Weltden miscarried, nevertheless in September 1687 he had every reason to expect that Weltden's failure would be avenged by the whole available power of England in India.

At that moment, when Phaulkon's need for support from France was acute, Tachard suddenly arrived from Batavia where he had transhipped into a fast boat from the fleet in which he had set sail from Brest on 1st March. That fleet consisted of several ships carrying 636 soldiers with officers under the command of General Desfarges. The Siamese Envoy to France, Kōsā Pan, accompanied by his interpreter, Abbé de Lionne, who had gone to France the year before with Chaumont to negotiate the alliance, returned to Siam with Desfarges, who also brought out two Plenipotentiary Envoys from King Louis to King Narai, Messrs Simon de La Loubère, a Barrister-Diplomat, and Claude Cébérét du Boullay, a Director of the French East India Company.

The instructions carried by La Loubère and Cébérét begin with the words:—

It is His Majesty's pleasure that Fr. Tachard be deputed to make the following proposal to Lord Constant, namely that the King of Siam

³ A detailed account of the affair is given in *Siamese White* by Maurice Collis. London, 1936.

should authorise the appointment of a French Governor at Bangkok, responsible to himself; also that he admits a French garrison to this town, permitting it to erect fortifications as a protection from the attacks of his neighbours and of the Dutch.

The following is added:—

If any change should have occurred in the sentiments of the King during the period that has elapsed since Fr. Tachard left Siam, and if no hope remains of negotiating with success, in that event H. M. is determined to force an entry into Bangkok.⁴

A comparison of these instructions with the earlier State Paper, entitled *Observations on trade for the instruction of the King's Envoys*,⁵ reveals a progressive hardening of French policy towards Siam up to March 1687, when the expedition sailed. Chaumont's failure to dazzle Siam with his display of grandeur into offering more than a few concessions of dubious value caused vexation in Paris, which must have been enhanced by the ridicule to which La Bruyère had publicly subjected the idea of converting a foreign King to the religion of France, when a similar idea entertained by foreigners regarding King Louis would have been treated as the phantasy of a lunatic. Impatience was felt at the fruitless exchange of missions, and there was a determination that La Loubère's mission should end the series by bringing back some material equivalent for the alliance offered by Chaumont to Siam.

When the *Observations* were first drafted, the idea of an occupation of Bangkok appears to have been mooted but not finally to have been decided upon, since the word *Bancok*, as the town to be occupied by the troops, has been written in by a second hand in two at least of the three places where it occurs.

The allegation subsequently made in France that Phaulkon had already offered Bangkok to the French is unlikely, if only for the reason that had Phaulkon contemplated posting the troops there instead of in Singora—the base proposed for them originally—it would hardly have been necessary for Tachard to obtain an assurance from him before they disembarked that they would be made welcome in Bangkok: the necessity for Tachard's visit before the troops arrived loses much of its significance if he was merely to arrange de-

⁴ Archives coloniales, Paris, quoted by Etienne Gallois, *L'expédition de Siam*. Paris, 1850.

⁵ JSS. xxvii (2), pp. 227 & seq.

tails for their reception, already agreed upon in principle: lastly the possibility that the French might have to apply pressure in order to persuade Phaulkon to implement a promise which at that moment was so obviously advantageous to himself is inconceivable, assuming that he ever made such a promise.

His letter of October 3rd, 1687 to Tachard by its involved and formal phraseology covers up the picture of a crisis which undoubtedly occurred before the French troops landed. Phaulkon's consent to their landing is granted at the end, upon terms dictated by himself. If it gives no direct expression to the feeling of relief which anyone in Phaulkon's then desperate position must have felt at the arrival of soldiers who could be used to support him, that relief may perhaps be inferred from the lengthy reasoning with which Phaulkon begins by reconciling the French demands with the dictates of his own conscience, and from the answer he gives in advance to accusations of disloyalty towards King Narai which he anticipates will be made against him.

In consenting to admit the troops into Bangkok, Phaulkon makes no secret of his feelings of resentment towards the Envoys for employing his own emissary, Tachard, as a go-between, instead of approaching him direct. Since he states that Tachard had offered to show him in confidence the text of his instructions, it is probable that Phaulkon was aware that the French were prepared—if need be—to use force, and that his pride was hurt by the lack of confidence in him which it implied,—a fact which the French, to do them justice, had hoped to conceal, by sending to him his friend Tachard to arrange the negotiation smoothly.

The result was unfortunate. Phaulkon chose to regard the request for an assurance of a good reception for the troops as a personal affront to himself. He avenged the wound to his self-esteem by demanding from the troops an oath of allegiance sworn to himself as King Narai's representative. The French Envoys were all for resisting these terms when Tachard presented them, but the latter found an ally in General Desfarges who refused to fight with troops demoralised and sick after a voyage of six months through the tropics. The Envoys therefore gave in with a bad grace, and Phaulkon had his way; but the distrust and ill-feeling on both sides survived their departure and contributed to the fiasco of 1688.

Tachard's subsequent record is not a flattering one, and suggests the suspicion that had he been an abler and a better negotiator, the disasters of the following year might have been mitigated. Admittedly Phaulkon was difficult to handle; but the French troops arrived at a moment when he undoubtedly must have welcomed their presence. Phaulkon was notorious for the gratitude he showed his benefactors no less than for his facility in making enemies. It might be thought that a friend, such as Tachard appeared to be, would have been able to win his confidence and represent the French Envoys to him in the guise of benefactors bringing him the very protection he needed to shield him from dangers both foreign and internal, and so forge a bond between them and him as strong as that which attached him in sentiment to the Jesuits, because of his conversion by one of them. Tachard however, as revealed in his own journal, was on bad terms himself with La Loubère, and so far from composing Phaulkon's quarrel with the Envoys—not to mention preventing it at the start—he appears to have embittered it and to have acted throughout as Phaulkon's evil genius.

Manuscript Document at the Toyo Bunko Library in Tokyo entitled:—

Lettre de Mr. Phaulkon au P. Tachard par la quelle il lui promet l'exécution de tout ce que le Roy a désiré de luy.

The Portuguese text followed by an English translation.

Text:

(1) De M^r Constance au P. Tachard.

Meu R.^{do} Padre

Eu tenho bẽm considerado o que V. R. me represento tocante os Desejos Reaes de Sua Majestade Christianissima verdadeiramente dignos de sua Grandeza e Gloria. De minha parte alem das obrigaçoens que Sua Majestade me tem encarregado com seos Reaes fauores e honras as que deuo a Nosso Senhor por Suas jnfinitas misericordias e merces tão obuias ao mundo que não necessita da minha confirmação senão in forma de gratidão que meos desenhos por a propagação da fé catholica Romana e defensa della nesso Reyno concorda muyto com os de Sua Maj. X.^{ma} sem cujo patrocínio e Real mão esso certo he

impossivel pois verdadeiramente eu estou persuadido que Nosso Senhor tem feito essa eleição de Sua Maj. X.^{ma} como o primogenito de Sua Santa Igreja per tão grande obra daqual depende e tem hum grande prospectivo á inteira conuerção desse Oriente que não necessita mais instancias a persuadir a V. R. nisso que a consideração do instrumento della (2)⁶ e supposto isto julga V. R. em que bom caminho estas cousas são. Mas como o serviço de Nosso Senhor neste mundo està muito conforme a Justiça, direito e verdade convem fazer certas reflexões sobre o que a mudança do gouerno em frança que Deos dilata muyto por sua infinita misericordia, pode producir aos discursos do mundo que não conhece minhas intenções e particularmente os dos maleuolos.

V. R. me representa que os desejos de Sua Maj. consistem em tres pontos. O Primeiro a segurança da Religião: o Segundo o Serviço de Sua Maj. de Siam: e o Terceiro o Commercio nos quaes V. R. se explica. Quanto he por a segurança da Religião dise que seria mister de fortificar hum lugar muyto importante no Reyno de Siam affim que em caso de mudança do gouerno a Christandade não fosse exposta aos insultos dos maleuolos, e a ser totalmente destruída, que não parece a Sua Maj. X.^{ma} hum lugar mais (3) conueniente que a Cidade de Bancok, e assi pede a Sua Maj. de Siam que confia a guarda desta praça aos officiaes e soldados que Sua Maj. X.^{ma} manda a esse fim, e que permite de a fortificar na maneira de Europa pera o serviço da dita Maj. de Siam, e que Sua Maj. X.^{ma} manda por essa conueniencia tropas officiaes Ingenheiros & pera servir a dita Maj. de Siam de qual maneira que quiser. Quanto he o commercio que os sojeitos de ambas as partes sua Maj. X.^{ma} folgaria muito que Sua Maj. de Siam seu bom amigo lhe desse meynos pera assegurar os francezes em seu commercio em caso de guerra com Hollanda porque os hollandezes são senhores de todos os caminhos que conduzem pera o Reyno de Siam e que não duuida que sua Maj. pera grande amizade entre essas duas Ceroas dispora as cousas de tal sorte que os sojeitos de frança fiquem segurados e que Sua Maj. X.^{ma} per os anisos que tem acha que se o porto de Merguy fosse gouernado na mesma maneira que pede o de Bancok, esto particular ficara bem prouido.

Nestas explicações de V. R. Eu obseruo tres Pontos.

⁶ The figures in brackets appearing in the Portuguese text and English translation indicate the pages of the original MS.

1º. A grande piedade de Sua Maj. X.^{ma} per a (4) propagação da fé Catholica aoqual fim alem das inconueniencias de tão grande distancia de terra e os perigos que são representados, sua Maj. X.^{ma}, tão grande he Seu Real animo e zelo per o serviço de Deos que expos seus vassallos e thesouros reaes per soccorrer todo quanto podia succeder, e entretanto obriga Sua Maj. meu Senhor com finezas muy dignas de tão grande Monarca que são que no mesmo tempo preserua essa praça de tão grande importancia desse Reyno per o serviço e defensa delle, e presenta seus vassallos em paga per o serviço que Sua Maj. meu Senhor seruíra de os occupar.

2º. Que Sua Maj. considero quam inconueniente era de expor tropas francezas em praças fortificadas na maneira deste Oriente; e assi dictado per as reaes amizades e preseruação do Reyno de Seu amigo meu Senhor resolueo de mandar jngenheiros pera fortificar a seus gastos o que conuem a esse fim.

3º. Como os Reynos de Sua Maj. meu Senhor são tão dilatados e per os quaes tem tantas intradas nelles de sorte que preseruando a hum sem outro pode ser a causa (5) de muytas inconueniencias e inquietudes a paz e tranquillidade de esses Reynos, como tambem o soccorro reciproco de suas tropas que sem isso hauia de ser desemparado, sua Maj. X.^{ma} apunto o porto de Merguy per o segundo, come mais importante daquella banda, e com isto verdadeiramente asseguro o commercio que he tão reciprocamente benefical a essas duas Coroas.

E assim Sua Maj. X.^{ma} assegura a propagação da fé prouisionalmente soccorre Sua Maj. meu Senhor com arte experiencia e força per qualquer occasião que pode se offerecer. Isto qualquer verdadeiramente affeiçãoado á honra de Sua Maj. meu Senhor preseruação de suas praças de importancia e pouo ha de julgar que forão os verdadeiros e vnicos motiuos que tem dictados a Sua Maj. X.^{ma} essa disposição. Porem V. R. bem sabe que a era em que estamos he muy peruersa é muy apta de fazer montes de nada, e nada de montes, e confirmando sua supposição com as circumstancias que a presente juntura de tempo permite de as honras e mercez que Sua Maj. X.^{ma} foy seruido de me fazer determinara que eu foy leuado a Infamia de perder a lealdade que deuo a el Rey meu Senhor em conselharle de entregar suas praças á (6) forças alheias sem nenhuma occasião cousa que nunca hauia eu de fazer per ganhar tudo o mundo. Poes sabe V. R. que Deos nosso Senhor foy seruido de me levar em hum caminho começando per o princípio de minha vida com diuersas maneiras de occurencias até me trazer no posto

em que estou agora ; de sorte que eu vendo as diuersas vanidades de este mundo desprezasse tudo e tratasse só do que conuém a sua gloria (que muyto concorda com os desejos de Sua Maj. X.^{ma}) pois que quiere hum particular mais que chegar a vniuersa administraçõ de tantos Reynos que são sojeitos a el Rey meu Senhor e nomeaçã de todos os postos destes Reynos da Corte e de estado, e gozar da mais intima graça e fauor de hum tão beneuolo Senhor que he certo (meu Padre) meu pay proprio não hauiã de me tratar com tanta tendreza. Supposto isso creio que me posso prometter que nenhum homem de discurso e consideração me ha de calumniar e de outra parte eu estou seguro do contrario dos maleuolos entre os quaes pezame de dizer que tem alguns francezes como V. R. bem sabe mas essas cousas sempre forão subditas de(7)minha consideração as vnicas armas que eu vsei contra taes e assim não são motiuos pera me impedir em negocios dirigidos ao seruico de Deos nosso Senhor donde Sua Maj. meu Senhor e seus successores podem lograr muytas felicidades, e esso pouo dilatado, muyta paz e quietação nesta vida e gloria na outra.

V. R. me disse que os Senhores enuiados extraordinarios de Sua Maj. X.^{ma} o tinham enuiado pera vir tratar comigo sobre estas cousas per Suas Ex.^{as} ter a segurança antes de desembarcar e que lhe tinham dado instruções a esse fim as qu(a)es V. R. per a confiança que tem em mim me offereceo de mostrar. Meu R.^{do} Padre Instruções leuão duas qualidades a primeira poder e a segunda direiçã, ambas provisionaes. tocante ao primeiro eu fico certo do poder de V. R. de vir tratar comigo per a carta de M.^r de Seignelay da parte del Rey Seu Senhor data em Versailles aos 22. januiet 1687. e bastaua a honra que Sua Maj. me faz nisso pois authorisou meu proprio enuiado per tratar e concluir comigo. E tocante a direiçã que eu per breuidade ajuntarei com a causa della que era de ficar seguros antes (8) de se desembarcar infera o que me pesa de diser da pouca confiança que Suas Ex.^{as} tem em nos o qual não conduce bem com os fauores de Sua Maj. baixo de Sua Real mão e referido pera V. R. Verdade que he a verdadeira maneira que as politicas dictão, mas não as da confiança e amizade podia se corresponder a esta politica. porem considerando as grandes obrigações que eu tenho a nosso Senhor a cujo seruico essas cousas são dedicados e o respeito da direiçã de Sua Maj. X.^{ma} supposto que Sua Maj. X.^{ma} e Seus Successores nos asseguraõ em nossa fidelidade e lealdade que deuemos primeiramente a Deos e a Sua Maj. de Siam meu Senhor e grande beneficiador nos

por esto prometto a Sua Maj. X.^{ma} com toda sinceridade de procurar que Sua Maj. meu Senhor conceda tudo quanto que V. R. me tem representado de Sua parte com toda abreuidade possiuel. Mas aduirto a V. R. de dizer a Suas Ex.^{as} que da parte de Sua Maj. X.^{ma} ordenão os officiaes dos Barquos e das tropas que desembarcando em Bancok per se refrescar e curar os enfermos entretanto que se da o posse da guarda da gua(r)nição que se comportem com muyta circunspeição em todas maneiras desorte que ninguem (9) tinha motino de queixa principalmente nestes principios e que Suas Ex.^{as} façam hum instrumeto dos particulares artigos que estas tropas tem per seguir nossas ordens, e per segurança que ninguem outro fora de Sua Maj. e de nos os possa commandar (o qual sera a condição no juramento que darão a Sua Maj.) pera nos vera examinar e concluir, de sorte que estas tropas com toda pressa tomão posse e assim eu concluo Isso pelo presente dado en Nossa Caza ao terceiro de Outubro de mil e seiscentos e oitenta sete De V. R. Muito humilde Seruidor e ben I(r)mão.

Signé C Phaulkon/.

Translation :

From Mr. Constant to Fr. Tachard.

My Reverend Father,

I have reflected well upon the matters Your Reverence has laid before me touching the royal plans of His Most Christian Majesty, which indeed are worthy of his greatness and renown.

For my part, in addition to the obligation laid upon me by His Majesty's royal favours and honours, my obligation to OUR LORD for his infinite pity and mercy is so clear for all the world to see, that no further word of confirmation from me is needed other than for me to say how thankful I am that my own plans for the extention and defence of the Catholic Faith in this kingdom agree so closely with those of His Most Christian Majesty. For without the support of his royal arm these plans of mine would certainly be impracticable; since of a truth it is my belief that OUR LORD in this has chosen His Most Christian Majesty, who is the elder son of His Holy Church, to carry out a work which is of the greatest importance, because on it depends no less a prospect than that of converting the whole of this East.

And so, I feel that in this undertaking no further pleas are needed to obtain the concurrence of Your Reverence, and all that remains is to explore the ways and means of giving effect to it (2).

And on this assumption may it please Your Reverence to observe how favourable is the posture in which the matter now stands. Since however, if we are to serve OUR LORD in this world, we must be just, straight, and true, it behoves me to make some reflections upon the possible consequences which the change in mind of the Government in France⁷ (whose greatness is the work of God's infinite mercy) may have upon the discourse of the world in general which knows not my desigus, and in particular upon the discourse of those who wish me ill.

Your Reverence represents to me that His Most Christian Majesty's desires come under three headings:— first, protection for the Faith: second, His Siamese Majesty's service: third, trade.

As to protection for the Faith, you say the fortification of some point of great importance in the kingdom of Siam would be required, so that, in case of a change in the Government, the Christian community may not be exposed to the insults of those who wish it ill and be completely annihilated: also, that no place appears to His Most Christian Majesty to be more (3) suited to this end than the town of Bancok: he therefore begs His Majesty of Siam to entrust the charge of this stronghold to the officers and soldiers sent by His Most Christian Majesty for this purpose, allowing them to fortify it in the European way for the service of the said Majesty of Siam, for whose convenience soldiers, officers, and engineers are despatched to serve the said Majesty of Siam in what way soever he may desire.

As to trading between the subjects of both parties, His most Christian Majesty would much appreciate it if his good friend the King of Siam would provide him with means whereby the French be protected in their trade in the event of war with Holland, since the Dutch are masters of all the routes leading to the Kingdom of Siam; and he doubts not that His Majesty, for the sake of the great friendship that exists between the two crowns, will so dispose it that the subjects of France may have nothing to fear; and His Most Christian

⁷ i. e. abandonment of the plan to accept the Siamese offer of Singora as a French base.

Majesty concludes from the reports he has that, if the harbour of Merguy were controlled in like manner to that solicited for Bancok, this item would be well provided for.

Upon this exposition furnished by Your Reverence I offer three observations:—

1°. My first concerns the great piety of His Most Christian Majesty (4) in spreading abroad the Catholic Faith; and to achieve this, the royal zeal of His Most Christian Majesty is such that, undeterred by the difficulties and dangers involved in the long journey, he stakes his vassals and his treasure upon the issue, regardless of the consequences; meanwhile, he lavishes favours full worthy of his greatness upon His Majesty, my master, for whose service and defence he protects this stronghold, which is of such vital importance for this kingdom; and in⁸ payment he offers his vassals for whatsoever services His Majesty, my master, may be pleased to employ them.

2°. Having observed the disadvantages attached to the stationing of French troops in places fortified according to the Oriental manner, and moved by his friendship for the kingdom of Siam and his desire to safeguard it for His Majesty, my master,—His Most Christian Majesty has resolved to send out engineers to construct appropriate fortifications at his own cost.

3°. Seeing the wide extent of territory ruled by His Majesty, my master, and the great number of entrances into it, which, if only one is protected without the other, may occasion (5) much prejudice to and anxiety regarding the peace and tranquillity of this realm, at the same time, as the sole means whereby one part of his forces may be able to render assistance to the other part, His Most Christian Majesty has named Merguy as the second harbour (to be occupied), being the most considerable on that coast: thereby he has truly assured the trade which is so mutually profitable to the two realms.

And thus His Most Christian Majesty simultaneously assures the propagation of the Gospel and at the same time supplies His Majesty, my master, with skilled, experienced, and powerful assistance to meet any occasion which may arise.

All who have truly at heart the honour of His Majesty, my master, and the security of his chief strongholds and people, will judge these to be the real and only motives inspiring this decision on the part of

⁸ text obscure.

His Most Christian Majesty. The times however in which we live abound,—as Your Reverence well knows—with evil men, apt to make mountains out of molehills and molehills out of mountains. These men will buttress their innuendoes,—as present circumstances permit them to do—upon the fact of the honours and favours which His Most Christian Majesty has been pleased to bestow upon me; and they will have it that I have been guilty of the infamy of forsaking the loyalty I owe to the King, my master, in advising him to entrust his strongholds (6) without any good reason to the charge of foreign troops,—a thing I should never do, were it to gain the whole world. For Your Reverence knows that OUR LORD was pleased to bring me from my earliest days along a path strewn with all manner of vicissitudes up to the position I now hold today. It follows that having seen the many vanities of this world, there are none I do not despise, concerning myself solely with that which pertains to God's glory,—and His Most Christian Majesty's desires are in close accord with it. For what more can a subject ask than to attain complete control of the wide domains of my master, the King, with disposal of all the posts at Court and in the services, enjoying the closest friendship and favour of a master so kind,—believe me, Father,—that no parent of my own could treat me with greater tenderness.

This granted, I think I can count myself safe from misrepresentation on the part of any man of reason and reflection, but I am sure of the reverse from the evil-disposed. Amongst the latter I am sorry to say there are certain Frenchmen. Your Reverence is well aware of it; but⁹ (7) and thus I take no account of them in conducting affairs directed towards the service of God, OUR LORD, from which His Majesty, my master, and his successors may derive much happiness, and the inhabitants of this broad land much peace and quietness in this present life together with glory in the life to come.

Your Reverence tells me that His Most Christian Majesty's Envoys Extraordinary have sent you to come and confer about these matters with me for their certainty before coming ashore; further, that they have given you instructions to this effect, which, relying upon the confidence you repose in me, Your Reverence offered to show to me.

Two factors, my Reverend Father, are implicit in instructions,—namely, authority to act and direction; and both are of a provisional

⁹ text corrupt.

nature. As to the former, I am satisfied by the letter of Mr. de Seigneley (written on behalf of the King, his master, at Versailles on 22nd January, 1687) that Your Reverence has sufficient authority in coming to negotiate with me; and it is a great honour done me by His Majesty in empowering my own envoy to conclude negotiations with me. As to the scope of the instructions, I will be brief and say only that the recommendation to obtain assurances (8) before leaving the ships implies how little trust, I am sorry to see, their Excellencies repose in us, and how ill it accords with the favours of His Majesty, presented with his royal hand and brought out to me by Your Reverence.¹⁰ True, this may be the authentic procedure required by diplomacy, but it cannot be reconciled with the dictates of trust and friendship.¹¹

Mindful however of my great obligations to OUR LORD, to whose service the affair is devoted, and out of respect for the instructions of His Most Christian Majesty,—assuming that he and his successors confirm us in the faithful loyalty we owe first to God and then to His Majesty of Siam, my master and great benefactor,—we do hereby promise His Most Christian Majesty to obtain with the least possible delay the consent of His Majesty, my master, to all that Your Reverence has submitted to me on behalf of His Most Christian Majesty.

But I advise Your Reverence to tell their Excellencies they should issue orders on behalf of His Most Christian Majesty to the Officers of the ships and of the troops, where they come ashore to refresh themselves or to tend their sick before that the charge of the garrison can be granted to them, that they comport themselves in every case with great circumspection, so that (9) none may have motive for complaint, especially now at commencement: also, that their Excellencies draw up a formal document containing special instructions for the troops to follow OUR orders, so as to make sure that none other than His Majesty and ourselves have power to issue orders to them—(which will be the condition in the oath which they will swear to His Majesty)—for us to see, scrutinise and execute that document in such manner that the aforesaid troops may enter into occupation without delay.

¹⁰ i. e. the insignia of the Order of St. Michel.

¹¹ The text is corrupt: a word appears to be missing before “*politicas*.”

And thus I conclude this for the present.

Given at our house on the third day of October one thousand six hundred and eighty seven by Your Paternity's most humble servant and good brother.

(signed) C. Phaulkon.

Je vous prie de m'excuser de ne vous adresser que quelques courtoisies
de ce pays. ce n'est rien de plus que ce que je voudrais
faire pour votre service étant avec beaucoup de respect
V'grime

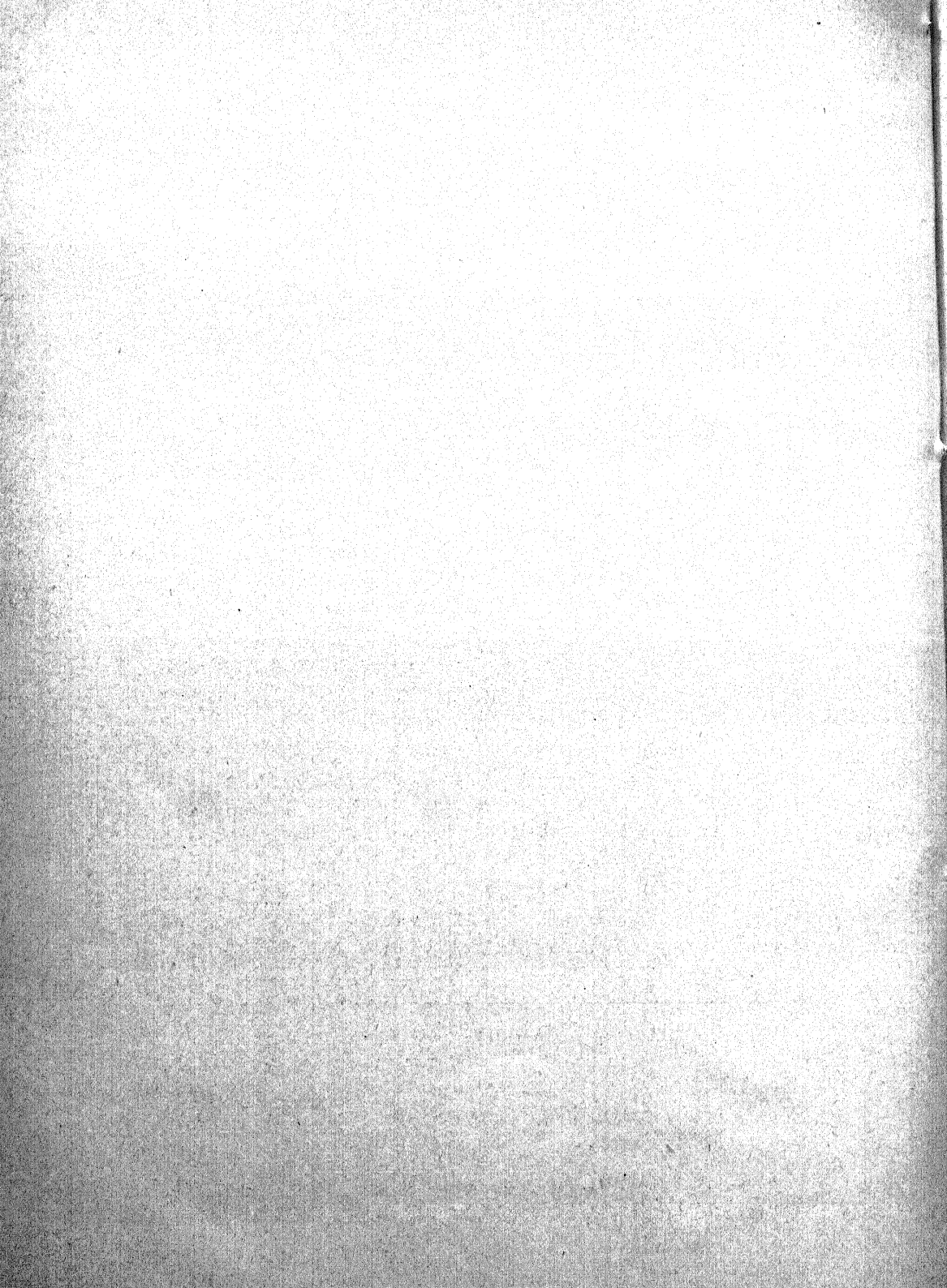
Mon Reverend Pere

A Leveau le 20.
Novemb. 1688

astre. tres humble & tres
obéissant serviteur

C. Phaulkon

A Signature of Phaulkon.



KHMER ART AND THE WORK OF THE ECOLE FRANCAISE
D'EXTREME-ORIENT.¹

by

HENRI MARCHAL.

Translated from French by W. H. Munroe, M. A.

French Indochina is situated to the south of China, bordering on both the China Sea and the Gulf of Siam. Its position between the Indian Ocean to the west and the Pacific Ocean to the east has made of it a passage way much associated with seafaring people, merchants, monks, etc., coming from opposite directions and from countries that were often far distant.

It has been proved to-day by the skeletal remains found in the subsoil that the first inhabitants of Indochina, at a somewhat distant period, were Melanesians. That Negroid element has almost completely disappeared in our days, but one can still find traces of it in certain types of natives.

A first wave of Indonesians, with their somewhat fair skin, then came to drive out and replace these first Melanesian inhabitants, and to establish themselves on the soil of Indochina. These Indonesians were in turn, in the course of centuries, driven into the mountainous regions of Annam and Laos, where one still finds them to-day. These are the tribes designated under the general name of Mois. They present many resemblances with the Battak of Sumatra and the Dayak of Borneo.

This Indonesian or Oceanian element—for it came very probably from the islands of Oceania—has left quite strong traces of its

¹ Paper read before the members of the Siam Society on Friday 26th November, 1937.

culture and its civilisation in the arts and customs of the present natives of Indochina.

Khmer art in particular shows examples in its ornamentation, its architecture, and its *bas-reliefs*. In order to understand this art fully one must take count of its substratum, on which there came later a Hindu contribution to graft itself. But this Hindu contribution, to which in my opinion there has been given much too important a place in Khmer architecture, was gradually blended with and melted into the Oceanian elements of the aboriginal population. Then again new influences, brought from the West and introduced by way either of the land or the sea by the many travellers who came to Indochina, gave to this art of Cambodia a character and an individuality that are not to be found anywhere else.

The Hindu contribution made itself felt in Indochina, especially in the 6th and 7th centuries, in the first Khmer monuments of Cambodia and on the coast of Annam, in the art of Champa. Hinduized Malays had established that kingdom of Champa, which was for a long time the enemy and the rival of the Khmer kingdom.

The art of Champa has left traces—monuments, sculptures and inscriptions—which disclose a civilization that was highly advanced, but very strongly Hinduized. The Chams were not able, like their neighbours the Khmers, to free themselves from the Hindu imprint and to create a personality of their own.

The first Hindu inscription found in Indochina is a tablet worded in Sanskrit, the stela of Vocandh, which dates from the second century of our era. That stela, found in the vicinity of Nhatrang, proves that there was already at that period an Indian culture there.

The Cham monuments are made up of brick towers, of superimposed tiers, and with a raised ground-floor and decorated with pilasters on which sculptured ornaments stand out. Cham architecture, which offers some analogy with the earliest Khmer monuments also of brick, had as its principal centres the ancient town of Simhapura, which was the capital of the kingdom from the 7th to the 9th century, and Vijaya, near Binh Dinh. The decline of Cham art began at the end of the 13th century, although the tower of Po Klong Garay, which belongs to that period, still shows real excellence of decoration and architecture.

According to Mr. Przyluski one should find Chinese elements in the art of Champa, which disappeared completely in the 15th century.

Certain temples, like the ivory towers, also show a very visible Khmer influence. These likenesses can be explained by the frequent intercourse between these different countries.

Cambodia, or the Khmer Kingdom, begins to come into history in the 6th century of our era. It followed Funan, a great Hinduized kingdom, which certainly had a very advanced civilization, but about which the only information we have is in the statements of the Chinese ambassadors who visited the country. Funan occupied the whole of the present Cambodia and CochinChina, as well as a large part of Siam and Laos. The inhabitants, according to the Chinese accounts, had walled towns and palaces. There is often mention in these narratives of artistic articles in ivory or in engraved silver. The well-to-do wore fabrics of brocade. Their boats were decorated with the carved heads of monsters. But the inhabitants of Funan were first of all carpenters, skilled in working on timber. Their houses and even their temples must have been of timber, which explains why we do not any longer find anything of those structures.

However, some learned people and archaeologists are astonished that the Khmer, who followed the people of Funan, were able to construct their first temples in stone and of so perfect an art without any preparation. They have asked themselves if certain ancient buildings in stone, hitherto attributed to the first appearance of the Khmer art, could not be taken back to the Funan period. In an article published in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* in 1933, Mr. Parmentier succeeded in detecting the probable style of the Funan monuments. In his very thorough research regarding the first Khmer art, the art of the primitive Khmer, he recognised in that epoch between the 7th and the 8th centuries two distinct types of architecture. The first type comprised low, dumpy towers, simple cells of cubic form, surmounted by decreasing tiers, very numerous but very low. The second comprised towers of less numerous but much higher tiers, with a more gracefully shaped outline.

Taking his stand on the fact that the first type was much less widely distributed than the second, and that it disappeared completely in the following period of the Khmer art, Mr. Parmentier was able to draw the conclusion that it was a relic of the art of Funan, which seems very probable. In fact the low towers disclose a very pronounced Hindu origin; and the evolution of the Khmer art

shows that the Hindu contribution disappeared gradually, changing into a completely new art.

To this art of Funan, which took its position prior to the 6th century, succeeded the first Khmer art, termed the primitive or pre-Angkor art of the Khmer, when King Bhavavarman, a vassal of Funan, revolted and seized the power.

In that period the Hindu, Buddhist and Brahmin religions shared Cambodia between them, and the kings erected temples sometimes to Buddha, sometimes to Śiva; sometimes even the two creeds were held in reverence in the same temples. Buddhism was then the creed of the Great Vehicle (Mahayana), and a certain confusion has sometimes existed between the image of the Bodhisattva Lokēśvara and the God Śiva, Maheśvara.

Khmer art, at the outset, like Cham art, did not comprise great comprehensive designs. It is represented by simple towers, almost always in brick, grouped more or less in proximity to one another. Only the decorative elements are in sandstone. The Asram Moha Rosei, which has just been completely reconstructed in accordance with the new process called *anastylose*, is the type of this low construction which presents a close analogy with the Pallava architecture of India. The towers of Sambor Prei Kuk, an ancient capital of the 7th century, show on the contrary an outline more gracefully shaped, which already presages the great classical architecture of the Khmers.

To the primitive Khmer art succeeded the Khmer art properly so called, or classic art. From the beginning of the 9th century Cambodia regained its unity. As a result of public disturbances it had for a time been divided into two kingdoms, that of land to the north and of water to the south. A king, Jayavarman II, who came from Java according to the inscriptions, founded several capitals and inaugurated the cult of the Deva-raja, the King-God, the royal power being represented under a divine form, the linga, emblem of Shiva. The first temples of the classic art present a style a little different from that of the beginning of Khmer art. For a long time it was believed that there had existed an interruption, a sort of gap between the Khmer art of the 7th century and the classic art which commenced in the 9th century. That is not so, and it is due to Mr. Philippe Stern, assistant curator of the Guimet Museum and a specialist in Khmer art, that one owes its being proved that Khmer art developed gradually without any interruption. Coming on a mission

to Cambodia in 1936, he discovered, on the sites of two ancient capitals, monuments which reveal an art hitherto unknown that constitutes the link which was missing between the art of the 7th century and the art of the 9th century. The imitation of the art of India still makes itself felt in the statuary, but the ornamental decoration, notably on the lintels above doors, presents a variety and a richness that was unknown before then.

At the end of the 9th century King Yaśovarman transferred his capital to Angkor, to the north of the great Lake. The Bakheng, and not the Bayon as was believed for a long time, became the centre of the new royal town. It is due to Mr. Goloubew that we owe this identification. The work of Mr. Stern and Mr. Cœdès had already shown that the Bayon did not date from the beginning of the period of classical art, but from the end, that is to say from the 13th century.

The investigations made on the spot by Mr. Goloubew caused it to be recognized that the site of the first town of Angkor does not coincide with that of the town now known under the name of Angkor Thom. The first town, much bigger in area, has its boundaries, still quite recognizable, to the west and to the south. Photographs taken from an aeroplane, as well as surveys made by the Geographical Service, have enabled one to reconstitute the exact site, and to specify the main roadways which start from the central monument on the Bakheng Phnom.

We have now reached the 10th century which prepares the way for the grand epoch of Khmer art, that of the 11th and 12th centuries, the epoch when this art reached its complete development, and when the architect, in full possession of his resources, affirmed his mastery. But before attaining that perfection Khmer art was going to develop gradually. Starting from towers more or less isolated at first, by successive improvements Khmer architecture developed its design, an aggregate of galleries grouped round the central temple, and arranged for the arrival of the faithful in the principal sanctuary by a series of courtyards, of avenues and of porticoes. If one remembers that the Holy of Holies, which encloses the image of the God-King, the symbol of the supreme power, was most often placed on a mountain, or, failing that, on an artificial pyramid, the realisation of this symbol in stone, increasing the height of the central tower over the temple as a whole, has led the architect to produce a work of splendid majesty. Angkor Wat (12th century) is the most representa-

tive type of the zenith of Khmer art. The vista of the central temple with its five towers, which one sees at first in the distance, and the details of which come out more and more as one approaches, is an unforgettable sight. The sculptures and bas-reliefs in the galleries that one passes through, combine to make of the whole a unique masterpiece of its kind. It is with this temple that Khmer art can, in the history of art, rival the monuments that are the most famous and of the highest repute in Egypt, in India, or in Greece.

Towards the end of the 12th century, a period of wars soaked the land with blood and greatly upset the Khmer kingdom. The warlike neighbours of the Khmer people, the Chams, invaded the country and seized the capital, which was pillaged and destroyed. King Jayavarman VII, then mounted the throne, drove out the Chams and re-established good order. He had a new town constructed on the site of an ancient town which Mr. Goloubew is studying at present, and of which he has found certain pieces of work, ponds, trenches, highways, etc., in the sub-soil.

The new town was fortified, defended by a substantial rampart in masonry against aggression from outside, and monumental gates gave access to the interior. It is the town now termed Angkor Thom, the Grand City, with the celebrated temple of the Bayon, which stands just at the centre. But with King Jayavarman VII, a great constructor of temples, the architectural style was modified; it lost its purity and its harmony. The design becomes complicated; the towers and the sanctuaries are multiplied and form a somewhat confused whole. It is to this King that we owe those terrifying conceptions of towers decorated with immense countenances, and bridge balustrades decorated with giants bearing the serpent Naga.

A curious thing which I have noted, but am unable to explain, was produced at this epoch: a return towards the elements that came from India, but of which one had seen the gradual elimination in the preceding centuries. This return to Indian art, at the end of the 12th century, is shown by new subjects which make their appearance in Khmer art, and among which one may name in architecture the invasion of sculptured decoration in *alto-relievo*. The most typical example is to be found in the towers of Bayon, which set off statuary more than architecture. Another example is to be found in the gates of the town of Angkor Thom, where one sees elephants drawn half-length into the masonry, a subject which recalls the temples of Karli

and Dhanli, in India, and which one finds again in the celebrated terrace of the elephants which leads to the entrance to the Royal Palace. It seems that at this period, Khmer architecture was invaded by a mystic symbolism which transposes into stone the most spiritual conceptions of the Hindu religions.

And still, even at that period, which marks the decline of the Khmer architecture, one can note a revival of the primitive native elements, which were referred to at the beginning of this paper.

If the Court and the advisers of the King still remained faithful to the creeds and traditions received from India, in the mass of the people there still lived survivals of the primitive pre-Hindu civilisations. One can see the proof of this in the bas-reliefs which the image-makers have carved on the walls of the Bayon. If the internal galleries show mythological episodes, the external ones represent the very life of the Cambodians at that period. Scenes of hunting, of battles, of games, of open-air markets give us information about the costumes, the arms, the tools, and the musical instruments which were then in use. I may add besides that to-day the same instruments are still seen in the hands of the people of Cambodia. And also, it is interesting to note great similarities with the peoples of the island in southern Oceania and with the Moi tribes in Central Annam. The people in their daily life had then preserved the morals and the ways of living of the Indonesian races who were the former inhabitants of Indochina. In architecture and in ornamental painting I have also been able to discover designs and forms, unknown in India, which are to be found in the ancient civilisations of Mexico and Peru.

To sum up, one may say then that Khmer art is one composed of very multifarious elements and influences. This is explained by the very position of Cambodia, which, as I have said, was the meeting place of people travelling as well from the West as from the East.

In conclusion I have still to say a few words on the main works of the *Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* in Cambodia. All these temples, having been devastated, pillaged and abandoned in the jungle, appeared as simple heaps of stones more or less covered with vegetation, when the first conservator of Angkor undertook to repair them in 1908. After the trees, which had overrun cloisters and galleries, had been cleared away, and the stones which incumbered the sanctuaries and obstructed circulation, had been removed the parts of edifices still standing were consolidated, by putting props bound

with ferro-concrete in the places necessary to stop their falling to ruins. As the outcome of a mission to Java, where I had been to study on the spot the reconstruction processes of the archæological service of the Netherlands Indies, I commenced the application of these new methods at a little temple, Banteay Srei, situated to the north and a little to the east of Angkor. After designs, statements, photos, and drawings had been taken of what was still in place, all the walls were taken down, course by course, and then put up again on a concreted surface serving as the foundation. All the elements which had fallen down from the upper parts, after having been carefully collected and put together on the ground, were placed again in their proper place; and that temple, specially remarkable for the wealth of its sculptured decoration, presents to-day its reconstituted central part such as it was in the glorious epoch of Angkor.

The same method, termed *anastylose*, has been applied by Mr. Mauger, archæological inspector of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, at the temple of the primitive Khmer art, Asram Moha Rosei. I have already mentioned the researches made by Mr. Goloubew and Mr. Stern, researches crowned with success, in order to find sites of ancient Khmer capitals. The air service of Indochina has contributed effective co-operation in these researches, by flights of aeroplanes which have enabled enclosures, earth-banks, trenches and tanks to be located in places where they were not known before, these being related to the ancient Khmer works.

Finally I shall mention two more works proceeding on the lines of the Conservancy of Angkor, and from which much may be expected. The first is the clearance with reconstruction of the temple of Banteay Samre, to the east of Angkor. There have already been found there terraces of a very interesting art buried under the ground and vegetation.

The second is the reconstruction of a temple all the stones of which had been utilized by the monks for other works; this is the central sanctuary which was erected formerly on the pyramid of Bakong, some 20 kilometers to the south of Angkor. It has been possible to reconstitute the ground floor with all the elements which were found, and work on the first floor has just been begun.

Further M. Glaize, the Conservator of Angkor, is shortly going to add to these important works the *anastylose* of the small sanctuary known as the Neak Pean. The fall of the tree which covered it



Banteai Srei,—North Sanctuary, seen from N. W.

Photo by courtesy of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.





Banteai Srei,—South Sanctuary, seen from N. W.

Photo by courtesy of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.

completely enables this work to be undertaken under favourable conditions.

Although it underwent an eclipse, Khmer art, after having been transformed under foreign influences that came from the North, still exists at the present time, and still sometimes shows reminders of the glorious epoch of Angkor. But alas! the inrush of Chinese designs and above all the annoying influences of modern western art threaten to make this art lose all its charm and its pungency.

And yet I am persuaded that one could maintain this art in its traditions without remaining fixed in the ancient formulas, but by renewing them. I shall venture to take an example from Siam, in Bangkok itself. Wat Benchamabopit, of which I have been able to admire the fine proportions and the purity of the architectural lines, at the same time as the delicacy of the decoration, is evidence that one can make something new by utilising modern methods and materials without betraying the art of one's country, and by remaining faithful to its past.

H. MARCHAL

The two photographs of the Banteay Srei temples are published by the kind permission of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient.—Ed. JSS.

In the paragraphs below are reproduced the speeches with which Major Seidenfaden introduced Monsieur Marchal to the audience as well as his words of welcome extended to Monsieur and Madame Marchal on behalf of the Siam Society:—

"It is my very pleasant duty to introduce to you Monsieur Henri Marchal, until recently for a number of years the distinguished Chief of the Archaeological Service of French Indochina, who will lecture to-night on the art of the Khmer and the work carried out by that admirable institution called the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, which has been responsible for the detailed study and careful restoration and preservation of hundreds of magnificent temples and sanctuaries spread over the territories of the ancient kingdoms of Cambodia and Champā.

"M. Marchal is one of the veterans of French Indochina, having arrived as early as in 1905 to serve as an architect in the Department of Public Works in Saigon. He joined the staff of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient in 1916, and has thus fully twenty-one years of scientific work to his credit. Most of that time was spent in Cambodia at the group of temples and monuments clustering around Angkor Thom, the former capital of the

Khmer, and Angkor Wat, the world-famous and incomparable temple. The late M. Commaile was the pioneer who cleared Angkor Wat of the more than four hundred and fifty years old jungle, which was on the point of strangling the wonderful fabric of chiselled stone.

"To M. Marchal fell the task of saving the many temples and palaces within the precincts of mighty Angkor Thom, such as Phra Pithu, Bayon and the royal palace, and outside, to the east of the old capital, the extensive temple compounds of Phra Khan, Ta Kaeo and Ta Phrom. M. Marchal did not limit his activities to felling the jungle and cleaning out the ruins of these admirable structures. Nay! he restored them to their original forms and beauty, his masterpiece being the small but exquisite temple called Banteay Srei.

"Out of a shapeless mass of tumbled-down stones M. Marchal like a veritable sorcerer resurrected the elegant and delicate towers all complete with their finely executed sculptures right up to their lotus-shaped pinnacles.

"M. Marchal is a dreamer and poet in stone, who has not only brought back to their original shapes and forms so many splendid fanes of ancient Kampucha Decha, but also traced the motives and aspirations of the unnamed builders of these monuments, besides showing how two currents of ancient civilisations, that of the West coming via India and that of the East from Oceania, met and blended on the Cambodian soil, the outcome and crowning glory of which was beautiful and eternal Angkor Wat. However, M. Marchal himself will tell you all about this and will accompany his narrative by a series of admirable pictures of the foremost temples of the land of the Khmer. I shall therefore now bid M. Marchal welcome in the name of the Siam Society, and thereafter ask him to read his paper.

"Monsieur Marchal.

"Au nom du Comité et des Membres de la Siam Society j'ai l'honneur de vous souhaiter, ainsi qu'à Madame Marchal, la bienvenue ce soir. Nous vous remercions d'avoir bien voulu venir ici pour nous parler au sujet de l'art admirable et de l'architecture grandiose du pays des Khmers et des travaux exécutés sous l'auspice de cette excellente et savante institution appelée l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient qui a fait tant pour éclairer l'ancienne histoire et étudier les civilisations de l'Indochine. Vous êtes bien connu comme un maître architecte et savant archéologue et je peux vous assurer que nous sommes venus ce soir avec la ferme intention d'apprendre de vous un peu de cet art exquis et de cette architecture majestueuse que représentent les temples du Cambodge.

"Monsieur Marchal, maintenant je m'excuse d'avoir pris autant de votre temps et je suis heureux de vous passer la parole."

THE CITY OF THAWARAWADI SRI AYUDHYA.

by

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE DHANI NIVAT.

In our critical notes on Thai documents of the 17th century which were secured from Copenhagen, (JSS. Vol. XXXI, pt. 1), Major Seidenfaden and I remarked upon the twin name of the former capital—Thawārāwadi Sī Ayudhyā—and went on to say that it was the earliest use yet found in the written contemporary literature of the country. In fact I wrote a separate note setting out instances of how the capital was referred to in what survived of the national literature as well as in documents preserved abroad in the form of treaties and official correspondence. An attempt was made to come to some conclusion as to how the twin name crept in. There were, however, many other contributions to the *Journal of the Siam Society*, some of which had been pending publication for a long time. As a member of the Editorial Committee, it seemed incumbent upon me to waive my right before those of others. That note was therefore postponed. In the meantime further reading has induced me to modify some of my conclusions and the present article has been rewritten altogether.

In that former note I started out with the statement that modern Thailand knows the former capital of the country by the twin name referred to above. The immediate authority for it was the history of Prince Paramanujit, which a generation ago was the only source of historical knowledge within the access of the public. That work, however, was written some four and a half centuries after the founding of Ayudhya and its alleged naming. There seemed to be reasons on more than one ground for doubting whether the name really existed at the time of the establishment of the capital in 1350.

Firstly, on the ground of its significance, the History of Prince Paramanujit tells us that since the founder of the city adopted the

style and title of *Rama the Sovereign* (Ramadhipati) the analogy was carried on by naming his capital after that of the Indian hero of the epics. Instead, however, of naming it *Ayodhya*, it was said to have been named *Thawārāwadī Sri Ayudhyā*. (The middle word *Srī* is a mere eulogic expletive often employed in nomenclature.) The question therefore arises as to the wherefore of the first part of the name. *Thawārāwadī* was in all likelihood meant to refer to *Dvāravati*, an alternative version of the name of *Dvārakā*, the capital of the hero Krishna, who, however, was a much later figure in Indian chronological tradition. Moreover no connection with this personage has ever been claimed by the Thai monarchy; and Krishna has been almost unknown, and in any case never an inspiration to the Thai at any time. It was also explained there that as the new capital was situated on an island in the river and therefore surrounded by water like the ancient *Dvaravati*, it was so named. Now, although the Indian city of *Dvārakā* is said to have been submerged in the sea, the name, of course, means *the city of gates*. It is not quite clear whether that explanation was one handed down from the time of its foundation, or an interpolation. In any case the name must have in time become accepted as a matter of course, to such an extent that when King Rama I. of Bangkok wrote his story of Rama—the *Ramakien*—he explained that the capital of Rama, the Indian hero, was founded in *the forest called Thawārāwadī*, which name was made up of the initial letters of the four seers who helped to choose the site (*Aēonkāwī*, *Yuka-akra*, *Thaha*, and *Yākamunī*) thus resulting in the combination of *Thawārāwadī + Sri + Ayudhyā*. There is also an undated prose work called *Nārāi Sibpāng* which relates the same story, and it was probably this work which supplied King Rama I. with the material for his *Ramakien*. It will be seen, therefore, that the reason given for the combination of the names on the ground of significance is hardly plausible, although the combination might have been accepted for some time past.

On the ground of usage I was at first inclined to believe that the combination was a late interpolation, but have since changed my opinion. Among the legal enactments of King Ramadhipati I., the founder of Ayudhya, the combination of the names is found in the Law of Evidence(1350), the Law on Royal Authority(1351), and the Law on Ordeals(1355); whilst only *Sri Ayudhya* is used in the Law on Receiving Plaints(1355) and the Law on Abduction(1356), and

others again had no occasion to refer to the name of the capital at all. It will not be necessary to cite later Laws, for they are like the ones just mentioned in that both the combination form and the form Ayudhya by itself are found. Taking other evidences in a chronological order, we find that the *Ratanabimbavamsa*, a history of the Emerald effigy of the Buddha written in Chiengmai in 1429, called our capital *Ayojjhā*, the Pali equivalent of Ayodhyā; whilst another history of Buddhism, the *Jinakālamālinī*, written also in Pali and also in Chiengmai about 1516, adopted a slightly different form of the same name—*Ayojjā*. Neither seemed to have been aware of the combination.

The *Yuan Phai*, a heroic poem in Siamese written during the latter half of the 15th century, referred twice to *Ayodhyā*.¹

The Inscription of Dānsāi,² dated 1560, adopted a formal tone as being an official document but did not include *Thawārāwadi*. It referred to the capital as *Phra Mahānakon Sri Ayodhyā, mahādilokaphobh nobharatna*. . . This was the identical form of the official full name which has been handed down to this day, with the exception of *Thawārāwadi*, which should have been inserted in front of *Sri Ayodhyā*.

The next evidence is the letter (cited above) from the Governor of Tenasserim to Denmark, dated 1620, which I have pointed out as being the earliest instance yet met with of the full combination being used in a contemporary written document. In the correspondence with the Prince of Orange, we find references only to Ayudhya, thus: *Judia*,³ the latter reference being dated 1636. There are other instances of Ayudhya being used alone, especially by foreigners, such for instance as the British version of *Oudea*.⁴ In 1664, a treaty was concluded with the Dutch in which the name appeared just *Judia*.⁵ Then we have the Franco-Siamese treaty of 1688⁶ which did not use the word *Thawārāwadi* either, merely using the form *Sri Ayudhyā*. Within a few years of the treaty, we have the *Historical Relation*

1. Stanzas 63 & 65, Royal Library edition, B. E. 2456.

2. BEFEO. XV, 2. Finot: *Notes d'epigraphie*, pp. 32-3.

3. JSS. XXX, 3. p. 315, & 316.

4. *ibid.* p. 299.

5. *ibid.* p. 326.

6. JSS. XIV, 2. 1921.

of the *Kingdom of Siam* by Monsieur de la Loubère, who said that the capital was called *Si-yo-thi-ya*, with the additional explanation that the *o* of the second syllable was closer than our diphthong *au*. He also gave the full official name of *Crung-thepa-pra-mahanacon*, which seems to confirm the inscription of Dānsāi.

The half century following the above period was a time of trouble and we have no evidence from any source until 1757, when the Prime Minister, Chao Phyā Chamnān Boriraks, wrote in Pali¹ to the Prime Minister of the Kandyan Kingdom in Ceylon making use of the full title thus.

..... *Deva-Mahā-nagara Pavara Dvārāvati siri Ayudhyā Mahātilakabhava nabaratana rājadhānī puriramyā.*

Poetry of this late period of Ayudhya, for instance the *Bunnawal*, used either part of the name separately and freely.

It may be summed up then that in point of usage the full name of *Thawārāwadī Sī Ayudhyā* occurred in some of the Law preambles even as early as the time of the founder of the city himself but was not invariably used. Even solemn official documents, such as the Dānsāi inscription, did not employ it. Almost all foreign reference dropped the *Thawārāwadī* part of it altogether.

Before coming to a definite conclusion, let us now examine the word on the ground of etymology. *Thawārāwadī* is, as has been already pointed out above, the more or less phonetic transcription according to the way it is pronounced in the Thai language of the Sanskrit word *Dvāravatī*. I had been inclined when originally writing this article to doubt whether it really referred to *Dvārakā*, the capital of Krishna, or something else. Further examination of a wider range of materials has convinced me that it did without doubt refer to *Dvārakā*. The gist of the Mahabharata is contained in a birth-story of the Buddha (*Ghatapandita Jātaka*, section x of the *Jātaka*), and in that the capital of Krishna is invariably called *Dvāravatī*. It proves that in Buddhist India, before the epoch of classical Sanskrit and even before the Epics, that capital was known as such rather than as *Dvārakā*. This fact is moreover interesting in that it supplies yet another proof of the theory that a great deal of Indian culture as it is found in this part of the World antedates the classical period

¹. see Prince Damrong: *The Establishment of the Siam Sect of the Buddhist Clergy in Ceylon*, in Thai, B.E. 2459.

of Sanskrit literature. Other evidences tending that way have been recognised, such as the Law codes, in which the account of the genesis was different from that of the orthodox Hindu Law codes of Manu. With the identification therefore of Thawārāwadi with Dvāravatī and Dvārakā, there remains hardly any more doubt as to the word's etymology. This automatically clears up what doubt there was when examining the word from the source of its significance and we may assume that the adoption of the name was intentional. We are left, therefore, with no other alternative solution than that the capital was given the full name of Thawārāwadi Sṛī Ayudhyā *from the time of its foundation*.

For historians who might wish to argue against the acceptance of the evidence of the authenticity of the age of the Laws, I should like to plead in defence of those old Laws as far as the preambles are concerned. It is true that the Laws underwent a thorough revision in 1805. It is also possible that modifications and deletions, or even additions, were made from time to time affecting the Laws; but those changes were probably limited to the articles of the Statutes rather than the preambles, which could not have undergone any change except through inaccuracies of copying. The enactments of Rama-dhipati I. are singularly distinct and recognisable by their employment of the Buddhist era, and I feel that there is really no reason to suspect the authenticity of their preambles.

The name Dvaravati was not used only in this instance, but has been applied to other places. I am indebted to Phya Indra Montri for the information he secured for me from Burma that Sandoway and Arrakan were both known by the name of Dvaravati. It has also been adopted by M. Cœdès—provisionally, for want of a more definitely accurate name¹ to designate a state which was existing on the lower Menam valley. Neither of these instances, however, have anything to do with the case in point and may therefore be passed over.

While discussing the name Dvaravati, it may not be out of place to bring up another aspect of the question—*how to spell the name*. Without wishing, as M. Burnay wrote,² to be bringing up for ever a

¹ cf. *Recueil des Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 1.

² JSS. XXIV, 1.

discussion which is somewhat byzantine, I am strongly tempted to put in a word in defence of those *Siamois du XIX^{me} siècle*, à commencer par le Roi Mongkut who were *étymologistes impénitents*, parfois *fantaisistes*, through whose fault, it seems, *an anarchy in matters orthographical has remained to our days*.

Long before the *anarchy*, said to have been started by King Mongkut and his contemporaries, set in, we have a poem dating from the time of King Narai which used the short form of *Thawārāwadi*, thus :

ปางพระจักรีแปรปน	กฤษณราชอนุเชฏ
อรินทรเสี้ยนสยมนา	
เสดจนาในเมืองทวา	รพติสมยา
คือวิษณุโลกยกปान	

Anirudh Kham Chand.

Now, it may be contended that the short form was a matter of poetical licence ; but, as it happens, this type of verse does not require quantitative exactitude. A long *rā* would have been equally correct. I do not know what other reason there may have been but that of the admissibility of the short syllable *ră*.

Towards the end of the 18th century, when Ayudhya was still the capital, we have among others the following passages, where the short form occurs :

แวนแคว้นกรุงเทพทวา	รวดีมหา
ดิลกเลศไพบลย	

Bunnowād

and—

เปนสุริยวงศทวารวดี	หน่อไพรวิศรี
ทศรฐอันเรืองเดชา	

Kham phāk Rāmakiē.

Then within half a century of that *anarchy* itself :

เจลอมนเฝ้าภพแผ่นธรณี	ทวารวดีศรี
อยุธยาเขตสยาม	

Sanphasith Kham Chand.

เป็นปิ่นนราภิรมย์	มุกขมาตยมนตรี
ในกรุงทวารวดีศรี	ศุภะภาคไพบลย

Sudhanū Kham Chand.

In none of these instances, I believe, could it be said that a short syllable is required by prosody. Why then is it short ?

It is not my intention here to challenge M. Burnay's theory of the quantitative structure of - ॐ - for all words in the Thai language, my argument concerning just the word Dvaravati. Even here nevertheless there are already two syllables preceding the quantitative structure of - ॐ -. Were I to explain why the third syllable has been lengthened in so many cases in the Thai application of this word, I should be inclined to put the blame, not on those *fantastic etymologists* of the 19th century, but on those early pioneers of Indianisation who misapplied the rules of Sanskrit grammar by *insisting on* the third syllable being lengthened. There is, of course, a certain process in Sanskrit grammar which permits (but does not *insist on*) the lengthening of the short *a* preceding the suffix *vatī*. The process is known to Sanskritists as that of *gunating*, the name having been coined from the Sanskrit word *guṇa*, quality, because in lengthening it, more quality is thereby given to the short vowel *ā*.

Bangkok, August 11th, 1939.

MATÉRIAUX POUR UNE ÉDITION CRITIQUE DU CODE DE 1805

LA NUMÉROTATION DU MS. L16, ลักขณมรดก

par

J. BURNAY

Dans sa belle édition du Code de 1805,¹ M. Lingat s'est judicieusement donné pour règle de reproduire, pour chaque loi, le texte de l'un des manuscrits de 1805. Dans des cas désespérés il a admis la leçon d'un autre manuscrit aux trois sceaux ou proposé une correction, mais jamais sans indiquer en note la leçon de son manuscrit de base.

Grâce à cette prudente méthode, le texte de la nouvelle édition est digne d'inspirer toute confiance aux historiens et aux philologues : c'est un texte consciencieux, aussi proche que possible, dans l'état actuel des études, de celui que lisaient les ลูกขุน d'il y a cent cinquante ans.

Il n'entrait pas dans le dessein de M. Lingat de donner une édition critique. L'entreprise eût été prématurée. Il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'une lecture même rapide révèle combien le texte de 1805 est trouble. On y aperçoit en beaucoup de points des traces de remaniements. Beaucoup d'entre eux datent de 1805. Ils sont déjà fort intéressants. Mais d'autres plus anciens se laissent aussi deviner, qui piquent plus encore notre curiosité.

L'objet du présent mémoire est de montrer, par un exemple simple mais typique, ce que l'examen attentif des manuscrits peut nous révéler sur l'état du texte en 1805 et peut-être même avant 1805.

¹ ประมวลกฎหมายรัชกาลที่๑จุลศักราช๑๑๖๖ พิมพ์ตามฉบับหลวงตรา๓ดวง (Publications de l'Ecole de droit de Bangkok), Bangkok 1938-1939; 3 vol. in-8: XII-446 p., (achevé d'imprimer le 1^{er} octobre 1938); II-503 p., (achevé d'imprimer le 30 janvier 1939); X-467 p., (achevé d'imprimer le 18 juillet 1939). Procuré par M. Robert Lingat.

Les anciennes lois étaient divisées en articles mais les règles suivies par les scribes en matière de numérotation varient d'un *ลักษณะ* à l'autre.¹

C'est ainsi que dans le ms. L16,² sous sa forme actuelle, *ลักษณะมรดก*, c'est-à-dire le *Titre des Successions*,³ est divisé en 51 articles, numérotés 1-51, mais que dans le ms. L5 de *ลักษณะรับฟ้อง*, *Titre de la Recevabilité des actions en justice*, la numérotation reprend à 1 plusieurs fois. Dans le premier cas nous avons une numérotation d'une seule venue, dans le second une numérotation à reprises, mais, en réalité, L16 porte la trace de remaniements opérés par les scribes pour ramener une numérotation ancienne du type à reprises au type d'une seule venue. Or, il va de soi que si l'on a préalablement réussi à rendre au texte sa physionomie ancienne en lui restituant sa première numérotation, le travail critique s'en trouvera considérablement avancé.

Nous avons choisi le ms. L16 pour sa valeur d'exemple. En effet, les remaniements de numérotation, répétés et brutaux, qu'il a subis de très bonne heure, peut-être même dès 1805, et sans doute à de très

¹ Cf. JSS., XXIII, p. 149, et XXV, pp. 226-229.

² Les références renvoient à la page et à la ligne du ms. L16, dont la pagination et la linéation ont été relevées dans l'édition diplomatique de ce manuscrit que j'ai donnée dans le JSS., vol. XXII, pp. 117-151. M. Lingat a réédité ce texte dans son édition du Code: II, pp. 141-171.

³ Cette traduction est reçue, mais elle n'est pas sans donner à penser. Notre texte est bien une loi sur les successions. Mais *มรดก* < skt. *mṛtaka* ne désignait pas principalement les successions. L'emploi qui est fait dans notre texte de l'expression *ท่ามรดก* montre bien que *มรดก* s'entendait avant tout des prélèvements opérés par le roi sur les biens des défunts, du moins quand ceux-ci avaient de leur vivant occupé un certain rang. Au XVII^e siècle, à l'époque où notre texte a commencé d'être compilé, c'est probablement ce sens qui dominait dans l'esprit des gens de loi, et il semble que le droit royal des successions dans la forme que nous lui connaissons s'est organisé autour d'un noyau composé des règles, régaliennes par définition, qui gouvernaient les droits de la couronne sur les biens des défunts; (cf. Aymonier, *Cambodge*, I, p. 85 et *passim*; pour Ceylan, Mgr R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, sv. *marala* et *maraleiro*). Le sens de 'succession', qui se trouve de très bonne heure, résulte sans doute d'un développement secondaire. Seulement c'est ce sens, qui devait l'emporter sur l'autre dans l'esprit des hommes de loi de la fin du XIX^e siècle, aux yeux de qui *ท่ามรดก* devait passer pour une expression technique toute faite et non immédiatement intelligible.

courts intervalles, ont laissé des traces nombreuses, nettes et parlantes.¹ Une situation aussi claire ne se retrouve dans aucun des autres manuscrits qui ont subi des remaniements semblables. Il y a donc intérêt pour définir et éprouver la méthode à commencer par L16.

D'autre part, s'il est facile de retracer l'histoire des remaniements de numérotation subis par L16, il est également facile d'en retrouver l'amorce. Ceux de ces remaniements qui sont importants ont pris naissance dans une région du texte, celle des articles 7 et 8 actuels, dont il y aura lieu de s'occuper pour des raisons de critique interne. Aux indices de la critique interne, la restitution des numéros anciens ajoutera l'appui des indices convergents qu'elle nous livre.

Dans son état actuel le ms. L16, et de même toutes les éditions imprimées, divisent ลักษณะมรดก en deux préambules (15c-17b, 17b-23b) suivis de quarante-trois divisions, numérotées 1-43 (23b-78a), plus un nouveau préambule (78a-88c), suivi de cinq *matra*, numérotés 44-48 (88c-98b), plus un préambule (98c-104c) suivi des trois derniers *matra*, numérotés 49-51 (104c-fin). Les divisions du texte, autres que les préambules, hors série, présentent aujourd'hui une numérotation continue : 1-51. Rien de plus simple, semble-t-il. Pourtant les scribes et correcteurs ne sont pas arrivés du premier coup à la numérotation actuelle : tous les numéros de notre texte dans L16 ont été écrits sur des ratures à l'exception de trois seulement : 1 en 23b, 7 en 35a, et 8 en 36b. A la différence de toutes les autres divisions numérotées du texte celles-ci ne portent pas les mots มาตราหนึ่ง après leurs numéros.

C'est en 24b que commence l'article 2 actuel, ce que marque un © surmonté d'un ๒. Or ce chiffre a été inscrit à côté et à droite d'une rature antérieure, située exactement au-dessus du signe ©, à la place normale des numéros d'articles. Il ne reste rien du signe condamné, mais la forme de la rature, à peu près ronde, montre que le chiffre qui

¹ Le papier du manuscrit (กระดาษข้อ) fabriqué avec de l'écorce de *Streblus asper*, épais et cartonneux, est formé de couches profondes d'une texture cotonneuse, recouvertes d'une pellicule. Les trous ouverts par le grattoir dans cette pellicule présentent des bords nets, de sorte qu'une rature conserve en général la forme lisible du signe condamné, pourvu, naturellement, que le grattoir en ait suivi les contours, comme c'est la règle. Même dans les endroits où le manuscrit a subi plusieurs grattages successifs, il arrive que les ratures se sont composées sans s'oblitérer complètement les unes les autres, ce qui permet bien souvent de retrouver l'histoire d'une rature qui à première vue paraissait défier l'analyse. Cf. JSS., XXIII, p. 150.

a précédé le α actuel était le chiffre 1. A l'endroit qui est la commissure des articles 1 et 2 actuels le scribe a d'abord écrit 1. Plus tard, à une date inconnue, le 1 a été remplacé par un 2 et reporté en 23b.

En 27a, l'actuel article 3 a porté quelque temps le numéro 2, encore reconnaissable à quelques vestiges et à la forme de la rature. En 30c, le scribe avait d'abord écrit 3, plus tard remplacé par 4, et en 34b, on peut conjecturer à coup sûr, d'après la forme de la rature, que l'actuel 6 a pris la place d'un 5 primitif.

Avant le changement d'origine, la numérotation des articles jusqu'en 34b était donc la suivante :

TABLEAU I.

Référence	Numéros primitifs	Numéros actuels
23b	néant	1
24b	1	2
27a	2	3
30c	3	4
31c	4	5
34b	5	6

En 31c, nous avons 5 (α), mais non une rature comme aux points précédents et en 34b. C'est qu'il est facile de faire un α (5) avec un α (4). Le correcteur n'a pas eu besoin de gratter le numéro condamné. En le modifiant légèrement, par la simple addition d'une boucle, il avait le 5 qu'il lui fallait.

Or, le ms. *Vaj.* ๕๑๓ (=A) et le ms. *Vaj.* ๕๑๔ (=B), malheureusement non datés, mais sans doute anciens, présentent dans le territoire que l'on vient d'étudier, non la numérotation actuelle de L16, mais, jusqu'à l'article 5 (de L16), sans remaniement ni correction d'aucune sorte, la numérotation que nous restituons sous les numéros actuels de L16. Ces deux manuscrits, qui commencent l'un et l'autre par le ๓๓๓๓๓๓ CS. 1167, présentent l'un et l'autre pour les premières divisions, la numérotation qui a d'abord été celle de L16.

Dans L16, en 35a et en 36b, articles 7 et 8, il n'y a pas trace de ratures ni de corrections, mais à l'endroit où L16 a aujourd'hui 7, A ne présente aucun numéro, ni aucun signe, si ce n'est un blanc, de même que B. Là où L16 a 8 surmonté de \odot , écrit sur la ligne et lui-même surmonté du mot ธรรมศาสตร์ , A n'a rien, et B seulement \odot . Ratures et corrections reprennent dans L16 à l'article 9 actuel en 37a.

A partir de cet endroit, tous les numéros d'articles ont subi des remaniements dont le manuscrit a gardé la trace. Dans A et B la numérotation reprend, avec le chiffre 6, à l'endroit qui correspond dans L16 à la commissure des articles 1 et 9, en 37a. La rature de 37a est complexe.

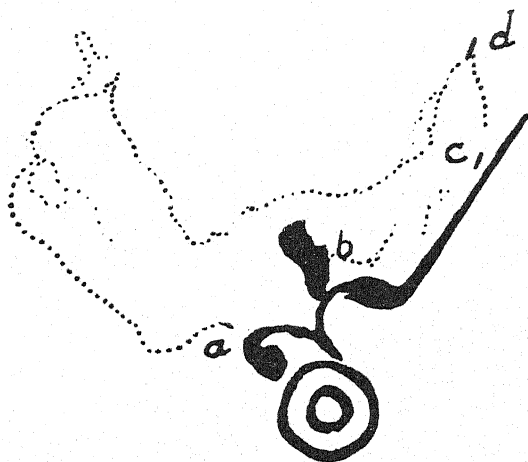


Fig. 1.

Aux points *a*, *c*, *d*, — tous trois extérieurs à la rature—on observe des vestiges d'écriture, et, en *b*, à l'intérieur de la rature une tache d'encre, diffuse sur les bords, d'une nuance pâle caractéristique. Il s'agit presque sûrement d'une tentative pour écrire la leçon définitive 9, à la distance habituelle, au-dessus du signe ©, tentative que l'état misérable du papier en cet endroit, à la suite d'un nombre encore inconnu de grattages, a fait abandonner, et dont le scribe a laissé subsister cette trace, afin de ne pas gâter encore le papier.

La forme de la rature est très révélatrice. Elle présente deux cornes à peu près symétriques par rapport à un axe perpendiculaire à la ligne et qui passe par le centre du signe ©. Or, parmi les chiffres siamois, il n'y en a pas qui présente deux cornes, l'une à droite, l'autre à gauche, comme la rature. Ceux qui ont une corne n'en ont qu'une, à gauche pour 2 (๒) et 6 (๖), à droite pour 4 (๔), 5 (๕), 7 (๗), 8 (๘) et 9 (๙).

Il résulte de ce que nous avons dit à propos des numéros 1 à 6, de 23b à 34b, que nous ne pouvons conjecturer en 37a aucun chiffre inférieur à 6. Or 6 (๖) nous fournit l'explication de la partie droite de

la rature et le seul chiffre qui ait comme 6 (b) une corne à gauche est 2 (2), lequel est exclu. Par conséquent nous sommes inévitablement amenés à reconnaître qu'en 37a, où nous avons aujourd'hui le numéro 9, un 6 (b) a été écrit, à un certain moment, avant le 9. Il est même possible d'aller plus loin et de dire que c'est 6 (b) qui a été écrit le premier, avant tout autre numéro, en 37a. En effet, il est tout à fait certain qu'en 34b, le numéro actuel n'a jamais été précédé que par un 5, puisqu'il est tout à fait sûr qu'en 31c, 5 n'a lui-même jamais été précédé que par 4. L'absence de toute rature en 31c, où la seule correction au cours de l'histoire du manuscrit a été la très mince addition d'une boucle au « (4) pour en faire un « (5), est la preuve péremptoire de ce fait. Il résulte de là que, si b (6) a jamais figuré en 37a, c'est bien avant tout autre numéro et il est certain qu'il y a figuré. Nous pouvons donc, dès à présent, prolonger jusqu'en 37a notre tableau I, et dire que l'article qui commence en 37a a été numéroté pour la première fois en un temps où le numérotage ne commençait encore qu'en 24b, au lieu de commencer comme aujourd'hui en 23b. Cependant ces considérations ne nous expliquent pas la corne droite de la rature.

Les chiffres supérieurs à 6 et inférieurs à 9, c'est-à-dire 7 et 8, ont tous deux, dans l'écriture siamoise, une corne à droite. Supposons maintenant qu'avant la correction définitive 9 (ε), et après avoir écrit, d'abord, 6 (b), on ait voulu corriger ce chiffre pour le remplacer par un autre, quelle que fût, pour le moment, la raison de cette correction. C'est nécessairement 7 (α) ou 8 (ω) qui ont été écrits, puisque c'est b qui était le chiffre condamné, ε qui est la correction définitive, et que les corrections intermédiaires étaient nécessairement comprises entre 6 et 9. La question est de savoir si c'est un 7 ou un 8 qui a été écrit, ou, encore, s'ils ne l'ont pas été l'un et l'autre successivement et dans quel ordre.

Mais d'abord, outre les données de la rature de 37a (art. 9), y a-t-il d'autres raisons de supposer en 37a, soit une, soit deux corrections intermédiaires entre la leçon primitive b (6) et la leçon actuelle ε (9)?

On a déjà vu que les numéros des articles 7 et 8, depuis qu'ils sont apparus aux places qu'ils occupent aujourd'hui, en 35a et en 36b, n'y ont subi aucun changement. Ni en 35a, ni en 36b, il n'y a jamais eu de rature, alors qu'en 34b et 37a, pour les numéros des articles qui encadrent 7 et 8 actuels, on observe des ratures, une en 34b, plusieurs en 37a. Ces faits autorisent deux conclusions :

1) L'absence de rature en 35a (art. 7) suppose nécessairement que le numérotation en cet endroit est au plus tôt contemporaine du changement d'origine, sinon il y aurait en 35a une rature comme en 34b ;

2) L'absence de rature en 36b (art. 8), suppose pareillement que 8 a été numéroté au plus tôt en même temps que 7 en 35a, sinon il y aurait une rature en 36b. Cela posé, rien n'exclut l'hypothèse selon laquelle la numérotation 7 serait postérieure au changement de l'origine des numéros, ni celle selon laquelle l'article 8 aurait reçu son numéro après l'article 7 et non en même temps que lui. D'où à s'en tenir à ces seules considérations, s'il n'est pas nécessaire, il est évidemment possible qu'entre 6 et 9, il y ait eu plus d'une leçon intermédiaire. Cette conclusion est indépendante des autres données paléographiques que, par conséquent, elle peut servir à corroborer.

Voici, dès lors, le système d'hypothèses auquel nous aboutissons.

I.—Ou bien le changement d'origine a précédé la numérotation de 7 en 35a. Il y a eu pendant un certain temps une numérotation :

6 en 34b

7 en 37a,

et l'on peut imaginer maintenant soit que 7 et 8 ont reçu leurs numéros en même temps, d'où les séquences hypothétiques :

5 6 6 en 34b

néant néant 7 en 35b

néant néant 8 en 36b

6 7 9 en 37a,

soit que 8 n'ait été numéroté qu'un certain temps après 7, ce qui entraîne les séquences :

5 6 6 6 en 34b

néant néant 7 7 en 35a

néant néant néant 8 en 36b

6 7 8 9 en 37a

II.—Nous ne pouvons admettre que le changement d'origine de la numérotation et les numéros des articles 7 et 8 soient contemporains, car nous aboutirions dans ce cas à une table de séquences :

5 6 en 34b

néant 7 en 35a

néant 8 en 34b

6 9 en 37a,

telle que, en 37a, il n'y aurait eu aucune leçon intermédiaire entre 6 et 9, ce qui, nous le savons, contredit les faits.

Au contraire si nous supposons un espace de temps entre le moment où l'article 7 a été numéroté et celui où l'article 8 l'a été à son tour, sans changer le reste de l'hypothèse, nous aboutissons aux séquences admissibles :

5	6	6	en 34b
néant	7	7	en 35a
néant	néant	8	en 36b
6	8	9	en 37a

Le problème revient à se demander laquelle s'est réellement produite en 37a des séquences :

(1)	6	7	9
(2)	6	7	8
(3)	6	8	9

A elle seule la rature de 37a ne nous permet pas de trancher la question. J'incline toutefois à penser que les traits *c* et *d* que l'on observe en dehors et à droite de la rature n'appartenaient pas au même chiffre, soit ω (7) ou ω (8). En effet, il ne paraît pas douteux que ces deux traits ont toujours été indépendants l'un de l'autre. Ils sont l'un et l'autre des éléments terminaux de deux traits de dates différentes, jadis plus longs qu'ils ne le sont aujourd'hui et qui prenaient naissance dans la région aujourd'hui grattée. S'ils étaient interrompus à droite par un grattage, ces traits seraient ambigus, mais en réalité ils n'ont jamais subi aucun retranchement de ce côté là. Or aucun chiffre siamois ne permet à lui seul de rendre compte de ces deux traits, s'ils sont bien ce que nous disons, aucun chiffre siamois ne présentant deux cornes droites sauf, à la rigueur, α (5), qui est exclu. Nous sommes donc amenés à supposer, dans la partie droite de la rature, deux chiffres différents, mais tous deux munis d'une corne droite. Le chiffre 9 étant exclu, nous tiendrions la preuve que 7 et 8 ont successivement figuré en 37a si nous parvenions à écarter de façon péremptoire, ce qui ne paraît pas possible, l'hypothèse que l'un des deux traits est un coup de plume donné par mégarde.

Pour trouver la solution du problème que nous venons de poser il nous suffira d'examiner les ratures les plus voisines de 9 jusqu'à l'article 16. Voici la disposition actuelle du numérotage :

37c, art. 10, numéro écrit sur rature, *au-dessus* du signe \odot ;

38c, art. 11, même remarque ;

39c, art. 12, même remarque ;

41a, art. 13, numéro écrit *au-dessous* du signe © sur une surface intacte. Au-dessus du signe ©, rature ;

42a, art. 14, même remarque ;

44b, art. 15, même remarque ;

44d, art. 16, numéro sur rature, au-dessus du signe ©.

Du point de vue auquel nous nous plaçons en ce moment, la rature de 38c, art. 11, est la plus intéressante. En effet, sous le 11 actuel, se lit encore très bien un 10 écrit sur rature. Or, comme en 37a et 38c on n'aperçoit pas de principe d'erreur indépendant de celui qui a déterminé les ratures de 37a, 10 en 38c est solidaire de la leçon provisoire 8 en 37a, que nous avons donnée comme possible et qui se trouve ainsi confirmée. Voilà donc éliminée la séquence 6, 7, 9, où ne figure pas 8. Mais il y a encore ceci qu'en 44d, sous 16, 15 est tout ce qu'il y a de plus lisible et là non plus il n'y a pas de raison de supposer des corrections indépendantes de celles de 37a.

En 38c, art. 11, où nous avons déjà lu un 10, la rature est gigantesque, formant grosse poche à gauche et très longue corne à droite. Il est vraiment impossible d'admettre que le 10, tout entier compris dans les limites de la rature, ait été précédé d'une seule leçon, 8, car 8 (ε) rend bien compte de la poche gauche, mais à moins de supposer un 8 immense, plus grand que tous les autres 8 qui figurent dans la loi, et de beaucoup, nous sommes contraints d'expliquer la corne droite de la rature par un 9 (ς), de dimensions normales, écrit un peu haut, posé un peu trop à droite, évidemment parce que le scribe a voulu éviter de passer sur l'extrémité droite de la première rature. En effet, le contour inférieur gauche de la rature a gardé, sans doute possible, la forme du trait sinueux qui constitue la partie inférieure d'un 8 siamois. Il est dès lors facile de juger des dimensions du 8 restitué lesquelles excluent l'hypothèse d'une corne appartenant à ce chiffre et prolongée dans la région droite, occupée aujourd'hui par la corne de la rature.

Cette suite d'observations nous amène à supposer qu'en 38c, un 9 situé dans la partie droite de la rature a précédé le 10 encore visible et le 11 définitif. Nous aboutissons par conséquent, à la séquence :

38c : 8, 9, 10, 11 ;

d'où :

37a : 6, 7, 8, 9 ;

37c : 7, 8, 9, 10 ;

séquences certaines puisque que l'on ne relève ni en 37c, ni en 38c, aucun principe de remaniement propre à ces deux points, indépendant des repentirs de 37a.

Or, si l'on doit admettre que l'on a eu successivement: (6, 7, 8), 9 en 37a et (8, 9, 10), 11 en 38c, il faut admettre par voie de conséquence:

1) que le 7 actuel n'a été posé en 35a qu'en un temps où le changement d'origine 24b > 23b, déjà accompli, avait déterminé un premier remaniement de la numérotation, au moins jusqu'en 38c;

2) que 8 n'a été posé en 36b qu'après 7 en 35a, et après que l'insertion du 7 actuel à sa place avait déjà entraîné un nouveau remaniement de la numérotation, au moins jusqu'en 38c.

Les remaniements de la numérotation de L16 jusqu'en 38c se résument donc dans le tableau suivant:

TABLEAU II.

Référence	Numérotation I	Numérotation II	Numérotation III	Numérotation actuelle
23b	néant	1	1	1
24b	1	2	2	2
27a	2	3	3	3
30c	3	4	4	4
31a	4	5	5	5
34b	5	6	6	6
35a	néant	néant	7	7
36b	néant	néant	néant	8
37a	6	7	8	9
37c	7	8	9	10
38c	8	9	10	11

Nous avons dégagé ci-dessus les principes d'une méthode dont l'application nous a permis, croyons nous, de reconstituer la numérotation primitive de L16 jusqu'à la commissure des articles 15 et 16 actuels. Il nous paraît inutile de reproduire maintenant les observations et les raisonnements, conduits selon les mêmes principes, par lesquels nous nous sommes démontré à nous-mêmes que le système de remaniements et de repentirs que nous avons constaté dans cette première partie du manuscrit s'étend jusqu'au dernier article, aujourd'hui chiffré 51.

Nous demandons qu'on veuille bien nous en croire sur parole. Toutefois, pour faciliter la tâche des chercheurs, nous devons signaler

que, de l'article 44 actuel jusqu'à la fin, L16 a subi les effets d'une série d'erreurs indépendantes de celles que nous avons dépistées jusqu'ici, car à partir de l'article 44 actuel (88c) on relève les traces d'une numérotation :

45	>	44,
46	>	45,
47	>	46,
48	>	47,
49	>	48
50	>	49
51	>	50
52	>	51

En 88c, le 44 actuel procède d'un 45 écrit immédiatement avant lui, sur rature. Le scribe s'est contenté de gratter la boucle supérieure du 5 (5), mais, comme le papier était déjà gravement endommagé à la suite de remaniements antérieurs et réduit à l'état de buvard, il a renoncé à écrire un vrai 4, pareil au premier chiffre du numéro. Il a écrit un 4 à corne trop courte. Juste au-dessus de l'extrémité de cette corne, se trouve un ressaut de la rature qui s'explique bien si l'on suppose que là se trouvait d'abord la boucle supérieure d'un 5 (5), dont au reste on aperçoit encore, en haut et à droite, la pointe terminale.

En 91c, 45 est écrit assez haut, sur rature, ou plutôt sur le registre supérieur de la rature. Or, à gauche du 5, coupant près de son extrémité supérieure la corne du 4, on voit encore un bon morceau de la corne d'un chiffre qui n'a pu être que 6.

Le numéro 50, en 111d, a été écrit *au-dessous* du signe ©, sur une surface vierge. Mais *au-dessus* de ©, on lit encore 51 écrit sur une rature.

L'erreur en trop qui a provoqué l'apparition d'une numérotation intermédiaire propre à cette région, 88c-fin, est d'un type banal. Il s'agit en effet de fautes serviles quoique solidaires les unes des autres et non plus d'un remaniement délibéré de la numérotation. Ayant écrit 43 en 77a, le scribe a d'abord rencontré la division de caractère particulier que constitue le préambule III (78a-88c), et, ainsi qu'il arrive souvent, il a compté mentalement comme 44 cette division hors série, qu'à bon droit il n'avait pas numérotée. Pour une raison, ou pour une autre, réveil de l'attention ou disposition plus claire de son modèle, le scribe n'a pas commis en 104c de nouvelle faute en

trop. L'écart fautif, en d'autres termes, n'a jamais dépassé 1 dans ce sens. Le système des fautes en trop a immédiatement précédé la numérotation actuelle, ainsi qu'il résulte de 88c, où le deuxième 4 du 44 actuel a été fait, au moyen d'un grattage, avec le 5 du 45 de la numérotation forte.

Nous ajouterons enfin qu'à partir de ce qui est l'article 44 actuel dans L16, on a entre L16, A et B, les équivalences de numérotation :

L16	A	B
44	1	41
45	2	42
46	3	43
47	4	44
48	5	45
49	1	46
50	2	47
51	3	48

L'étude du manuscrit L16 montre que la numérotation primitive était la même que celle de A, d'où dans cette région une extrême complication des ratures, et des séquences telles que :

1, 41, 42, 43, 44,

à cinq termes, sans compter l'effet de l'erreur en trop.

En ce qui concerne la numérotation, l'histoire du texte de มรณ dans L16 nous est désormais connue dans son entier.

Les scribes sont partis d'un texte dont la numérotation, du type à reprises, ne commençait qu'en 24 b, c'est-à-dire qu'au départ, ils avaient la numérotation de A : 1-40, 1-5, 1-3, en tout 48 divisions. Voici ce qu'ils en ont fait.

1) Ils ont d'abord dû ramener la numérotation au type continu ce qui leur a donné la numérotation de B : 1-48.

2) Puis ils ont reporté 1 en 23 b et ils ont eu un numérotage : 1-49.

3) Après de nouvelles réflexions ils ont décidé de séparer du premier les deux derniers paragraphes de leur article 6. Ils en ont fait un article, qu'ils ont numéroté 7, et ils ont remanié en conséquence toute la numérotation à partir de leur nouveau 8, le 9 actuel. Ils ont abouti à la série 1-50.

4) Leur nouvel article 7 ne fait pas encore leur affaire. Ils le coupent en deux en numérotant 8 le deuxième paragraphe (le troisième de l'ancien 6). A partir du nouveau 9, qui est encore le nôtre, ils remanient la numérotation en conséquence.

5) Par malheur, ils se sont trompés à partir de 44 qu'ils ont compté 45 et ils sont obligés de ramener leur série 45-52 à la série actuelle 44-51, au prix de nouvelles manœuvres, non moins brutales que les précédentes.

De ces cinq opérations successives, la dernière n'avait d'autre but que de réparer une simple maladresse : elle est sans intérêt pour nous. La première, par laquelle les scribes ont ramené une numérotation du type à reprises au type continu, a été souvent répétée sur les textes du Corpus soit en 1805, soit peut-être, dans certains cas, plus tard. Dans L16, elle a été exécutée de telle manière qu'elle ne nous paraît pas donner lieu à commentaires.

Restent le changement d'origine et la substitution à la numérotation 6 couvrant toute l'aire 34b-37a, d'une numérotation plus articulée : 6 maintenu en 34b, 7 inséré en 35a et 8 en 36b.

Pourquoi ces remaniements opérés en plusieurs temps, avec tant de persévérance ? Les efforts de la critique externe la plus minutieuse ne nous livreront pas la réponse à cette question. La critique externe nous montre seulement que devant les textes de l'aire 34b-36a les scribes et les reviseurs ont éprouvé comme un malaise. Ils sentaient que, les deux derniers paragraphes de l'article 6, tels qu'ils leur étaient livrés faisaient disparate. Cette impression, une lecture attentive la confirme. Notamment, qu'est-ce que ce singulier article 8, avec son numéro surmonté de la mention insolite *ธรรมสาตร*, qui paraît en effet venir tout droit d'un *dharmagāstra* et qui est peut-être un fragment détaché de la version plus ancienne et plus développée qu'il y a tant de raisons de soupçonner à l'origine du *Dharmagāstra*, évidemment mutilé, qui forme aujourd'hui l'introduction de notre Corpus.¹

Seules des études portant sur le fond permettront un jour de résoudre ces questions, mais l'étude attentive de la tradition manuscrite nous a permis de les poser d'une manière qui présente toutes garanties d'objectivité et de montrer que, plus ou moins obscurément, elles devaient se poser déjà aux anciens scribes siamois.

¹ Il y a dans le Corpus bien d'autres morceaux où l'on doit reconnaître des fragments de cet ancien *dharmagāstra* dont le nôtre n'est plus que l'ombre. Voici un exemple saisissant.

Dharmagāstra, Lingat, I, pp. 17-19 : *นี่จักสำแดงเหตุแห่งตระลาการ ๒๔ ประการ ... อันว่าเหตุแห่งตระลาการ ๒๔ ก็ยติอรรถติกะศัพท์พระมานั* se retrouve tout entier dans le *Titre des Juges (Trälakan)*, 21-31, in JSS., XXIV, pp. 74-76 et Lingat, I, pp. 376-379. Les différences d'un titre à l'autre sont insignifiantes, mais dans le titre des *Juges* le morceau itératif est suivi d'un autre

(31-37, JSS. p. 76; Lingat, I, 379-381), qui ne se trouve que là, sauf erreur, et se donne comme tiré d'un *dharmagāstra*, une première fois en 31 et une seconde en 37. Le renvoi de 37 fait voir que, pour le rédacteur de cette partie du titre des *Juges*, non seulement 31-37 venait de son *dharmagāstra*, mais encore que 31-37 venait du même *dharmagāstra* que 21-31, car la clause de *Juges* 37: ก่อเวลักษณะกระลาการอันมีในพระธรรมสาตรโดยสังเขปแล้วแต่ท่าน, doit évidemment s'appliquer à 21-31 tout autant qu'à 31-37. D'où il suit que le rédacteur de cette partie du titre des *Juges* lisait encore un *dharmagāstra* où figuraient côte à côte deux textes dont l'un se lit encore dans notre *Dharmagāstra* alors que l'autre ne s'y retrouve plus, ce qui prouve évidemment un lien entre les deux *dharmagāstra*, celui du rédacteur des préambules du titre des *Juges* et le nôtre, et rend plausible l'hypothèse que le second n'est qu'une forme mutilée du premier.

Ce même texte, *Trāḷakan*, 31-37, ouvre une autre piste encore à la critique. En effet, il est précédé de l'annonce: อันว่าลักษณะกระลาการหกจำพวกโดยพระธรรมสาตรอันหลักอินทภาษกล่าวดังนี้ d'après laquelle le *dharmagāstra* du rédacteur de cette partie de *Trāḷakan*, donnait comme source de ce morceau l'*Indabhāsā* où il ne figure plus aujourd'hui. Il y a là un fait à retenir et qu'il faudra reprendre le jour où l'on voudra déterminer les rapports entre notre *Dharmagāstra* et l'*Indabhāsā*. En tout cas, un éditeur du *Dharmagāstra* et de l'*Indabhāsā* serait d'ores et déjà fondé à se servir de *Trāḷakan* 31-37 pour restituer aux textes défigurés des recensions modernes leur ancienne physionomie.

SIAM'S TRIBAL DRESSES ¹.

by

Major Erik Seidenfaden.

The Siam Society has to-day invited you to inspect a collection of national and tribal dresses gathered from all over the Kingdom during the last few years, and it is hoped that you will take this rather unique opportunity to acquaint yourselves with these interesting costumes, many of which are quite pretty, besides showing no mean ability and artistic sense in the execution of the different patterns and the composition of the colours used.

A few years ago I got the idea of collecting, as far as possible, all the national costumes of the various branches of the Thai people, as well as all the dresses of the non-Thai communities who are mostly domiciled in the hills on the western boundary of the kingdom and in the mountainous North. My thought was really to have all these dresses executed in a size to suit models of a height of not more than fifty centimetres.

These models, clothed correctly to represent all the various elements of the population of the kingdom of Siam were to be placed in airtight glass show cases and placed on the top of the book cases of our Library. It is my hope that it will still be possible to do so, though the better solution would of course be that the National Museum establish a Folk Museum or an ethnographical branch, where all the national and tribal costumes of Siam would be exhibited on full size models, wearing the traits of the respective branches of the great Thai nation and of the many lesser tribes, whether of Mongolian,

¹ Paper read before the members of the Siam Society on the 20th December 1937 (The lecture being illustrated by the national and tribal dresses exhibited in the lecture hall).

Môn-Khmer or Negrito stock.¹ As you will see, the dresses exhibited here are of varying sizes, some in full size and some in reduced size, due to the instructions not being followed by all the contributors.

During my frequent travels in the provinces in these latter years I have noticed to my sorrow how the picturesque and time-honoured national and regional costumes, nearly all over the land, are fast disappearing, to be replaced by dresses of a more or less international fashion. To cite examples: in the town of Chiangmai to-day one rarely sees a girl or woman, with the exception of the quite old women, wearing the pretty yellow *phā-sin* with the black horizontal stripes; the same is the case with the girls of the North-Eastern Thai. It has been rightly said that the honk of the motor lorry with its load of cheap foreign textiles sounds the death knell of the national costumes, while the radio and the cinematograph are rapidly exterminating provincial dialects and ancient manners and customs.

Therefore if future generations are not to be kept in ignorance as to how their ancestors clothed themselves, it is high time now to collect all the various dresses still worn by the inhabitants of this picturesque and beautiful land, and to keep them carefully preserved in our museums for future information and study.

The exhibition you see to-day gives a fairly good impression of that richness of national and tribal costumes which is Siam's. It is, however, not complete, as some tribes in the North as well as some in the North-east are still unrepresented. In all some seventy-two distinct national and tribal dresses are exhibited, though some of them only represent septs or clans of the same tribe.

The bringing together of this rich collection is first of all due to His Serene Highness Prince Varnvaidyakorn's unstinted and generous assistance. As a matter of fact, without the help of His Serene Highness this exhibition would not have been possible. I take this opportunity to tender the sincerest thanks of the Council and the Members of the Siam Society to His Serene Highness for his very kind and interested succour.

Though this is not a lecture on ethnology it may be useful just in a few words to outline the history of the racial migrations in this part of the world.

¹ The dresses were handed over to the National Museum in 1938 and are now in part on exhibition there.

The earliest inhabitants of Indochina, including Siam, were probably Negritoës, the scattered remnants of whom are still to be found in the Malay Peninsula. In Siamese territory they are met with in the provinces of Pattani and Patalung, but their skulls have been found as far away in the north as in the caves in Upper Tongking.

The Negritoës were followed by the Proto-Australians, *i. e.*, the forefathers of the natives of Australia who hail from the shores of the Mediterranean, their skeletons having been found at the foot of Mt. Carmel in Palestine. The Proto-Australians probably did not spread over the Central and Eastern parts of Indochina but, coming via India and the littoral of Burma, wandered down through the Malay Peninsula and over the East Indian Archipelago till they reached Australia.¹ Some students of ethnology are inclined to believe that the Proto-Australians arrived before the Negritoës, who may also have come from India.

The next wave was, anyhow, the Melanesian. The Melanesians seem to be a mixture of Proto-Australians and Negritoës and originated in India, from where they spread all over Indochina, and *via* the Indonesian Archipelago, migrated to New Guinea and the neighbouring island groups. The negroid blood is clearly visible to-day in the Malays of Pattani, the Chong in Trat and also in the Cambodians and many of the so-called Khā or Moi tribes. Melanesian skulls have been found in the limestone caves in Upper Tongking and in Annam.

A new wave of peoples called the Austro-Asiatic, represented in Indochina by the Môn-Khmer, next displaced and absorbed the Melanesians in Indochina. As far as we can gather from linguistic evidence, the Austro-Asiatics came from the west, though some students argue that they came from the north and some even deny the existence of such a race at all. However, this does not concern us just now. What we know is that there certainly exists a group of Môn-Khmer peoples that stretch from Burma in the west right east over to the southern confines of China. To this group, which was civilized by Indian immigrants at about the time of the birth of Christ, belongs the credit of having evolved a really high civilization

¹ The lecturer is, however, now convinced that they *did* spread right over to the east coast of Indochina where Mlle. Colani has found their skeletons in many limestone caves.

inspired and moulded by the great religions of India, Brahmanism and Buddhism. Their greatest monuments are visible among us to-day in the shape of the wonderful temples of Angkor.

Perhaps somewhat later than the Austro-Asiatic immigration, took place an invasion from the north-west of Indonesians or the so-called Proto-Malays who, starting from the confines of Tibet, wandered down south through Burma and the Malay Peninsula, from where they crossed over to Sumatra and the other East Indian isles. A reflux from Malaya spread along the shores of the Gulf of Siam to Cambodia and Annam. In the latter country they settled and became mighty, founding the highly civilized Hinduized Kingdom of Champā.

We now come to the last great migrations, those of the Thai and the Burmese. You will of course all know that the Thai people came down from China, and well over a thousand years ago they must have penetrated into the present British Shan States and Upper Burma as well as into North Siam and Tongking. About the middle of the 13th century we see them as the masters of the whole of the territory of present-day Siam and far down in the Malay Peninsula.

The Annamites, who really are of Thai stock but profoundly impressed with ancient Chinese culture, customs and manners, came down from the coastlands of South-East China and conquered Annam and Cochinchina from the Chām and the Khmer respectively. The Burmese coming down from Tibet conquered Burma and have succeeded in almost annihilating the Môn, who, however, civilized these rude and savage mountaineers. Siam proper was also formerly peopled by Môn, who about the 5th-6th century A. D. had organized themselves in the so-called Dvaravati kingdom.

You will be aware that there is quite a considerable Môn element living among us in present-day Siam. These Môn are, however *not* the Môn of the Dvaravati era, who were absorbed long ago by the conquering Thai, but emigrants from Burma of only a few hundred years standing.

The Siamese or Thai of Siam must number at least ten millions and may be divided into several branches, such as the Thai Khôm or Thai proper of the Menam plain and the South and the Lāo or Thai of the North-East, called Thai Klāng in Khorat, Thai Gāo in Ubon and Roi Ett, and Thai Vieng in Udorn. A considerable number of Lāo or Thai from the North-East live in the Sak valley and the provinces of

Nakhon Sawan and Phitsanulok as well as in the former Prachin Circle. Northern Siam is peopled by the Thai Yuan. The Thai Yuan are of a fairer skin than the Thai of the North-East, who, on the other hand, are of a stouter build.

In former days it was quite easy to differentiate between the women of the Northern Thai and those of the North-East by help of their *phā-sins*, which in the case of the Northern people were striped horizontally, while those of the North-East were striped vertically. Then again their men folk were differently tattooed. The men of the North are tattooed on their bellies and are therefore called *Lāo phung dam*, while those of the North-East are tattooed on their thighs and called *Lāo phung khāo*. Spread round about in the North, at Savan-ka-loke and Nakhon Sawan, in the West, at Rajaburi and Petchaburi, and right down to Bandôn in the South, are settlements of the so-called *Lāo song dam*. They hail from the region east of Luang Phrabang, and they are recognized by their black dresses with silver buttons, their women wearing black *phāsins* with thin vertical white stripes.

The Khmer people of Siam, living mostly in the changvats of Buriram, Surin and Khukhan and some in Chantaburi, dress like the Siamese. Their women wear mostly the *pha-nung*. The Môn women of Paklat, Pakret and Sam Kok wear both *pha-nung* and a skirt or sarong called *pha-thung*.

Besides the Môn-Khmer and Thai peoples there are a great number of tribes both of Môn-Khmer and Mongolian origin. To the former belong the Lawā in North Siam, the Chaobon, the Sô, Sek, Kalüng and Kui in North-East Siam and the Chông in South-Siam. Some of these tribes are represented here to-day by their dresses. The Lawā are cousins of the Môn and populated formerly the whole of North Siam. There are many tribes of Tibetan and Chinese blood living on the hills in North Siam such as the Karén, on the great Tenasserim chain that divides Siam from Burma. The Karén are the best known of all these mountain people. They are divided into white and red Karén and in the southernmost part they are called Karang. The white Karén are again divided into the septs of Pwo and Bghai.

We have several beautiful Karén dresses on exhibition which I shall show you presently. Nobody knows from where the Karén came, but they have been here for a very long time and arrived no doubt prior to the Thai. The Maeo, Yao, Mussö, Lahu, Kô and Lissaw are

all new-comers who have arrived in Siamese territory during the last sixty or seventy years from Southern China. With the exception of the two first named they are of Tibetan stock.

Finally there is to mention the utterly uncivilized and shy savages called the *Khā dōng lūang*, who were visited by Dr. and Mrs. Bernatzik last winter. They live on the jungle-covered crests of the hills in the north-north-east. We possess no dresses of this tribe for the simple reason that they generally go round quite naked. The hill tribes of Southern China are well known for their often very artistic and tasteful dresses of which I shall show a few examples.

And now I shall conclude this rather rambling but perhaps not quite uninteresting talk and explain to you the origin of the various dresses exhibited here. In doing so I am going to take you on a long journey, from the extreme south to the extreme north, thereafter going east and south-east till we have covered the whole of the territory of the kingdom.

Before departing on this journey I shall just point out on the map the route we are to follow and the areas of the various groups of people we are to visit by the medium of their national or tribal costumes.

LIST OF THE NATIONAL AND TRIBAL DRESSES COLLECTED.

Thai.

Southern Thai	from Nakhon Sri Thammarat, Trang and Surat.
Thai Yuan	„ Chiangmai, Phrae, Nān and Lablāe.
Thai Vieng	„ Paknam Pho, Kamphengphet, Prachinburi.
Thai Phoan	„ Nakhon Sawan, Udon.
Thai Glāng	„ Nakhon Rajasima.
Thai Gao	„ Ubon, Khonkaen.
Lao Song Dam	„ Pichitr, Sawankaloke, Nakhon Sawan, Nakhon Pathom, Rajaburi, Petchaburi, Chumphorn.
Lao Ti	„ Rajaburi.
Shan or Thai Yai	„ Mae Hongson, Chiangmai, Mae Sot, Chantaburi.
Thai Ngio	„ Mae Hongson.
Thai Lū	„ Chiang Khong.

Negritoes.

Semang	„ Pattalung.
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Indonesian.

Malay	from Pattani, Yala.
Chão Nãm or Selông	„ Ranong.

Môn-Khmer.

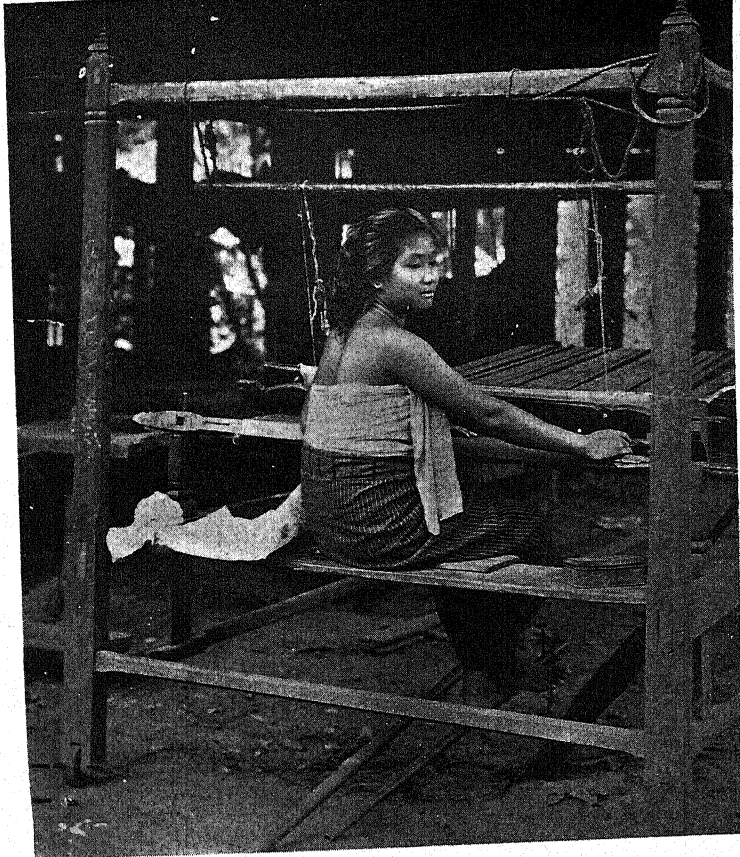
Môn	„ Paklat, Pathumthani, Rajaburi.
Khmer	„ Trat.
Chong	„ Trat.
Chao Bon	„ Chaiyaphum.
Saek	„ Nakhon Panom.
Tin	„ Nãn.
Lawã	„ Bô Luang, Mae Sarieng.
Khamu	„ Chiengmai.

Tibeto-Burmese.

White Karén	from Tāk, Mae Sarieng, Khun Yuam.
Red Karén	„ Tāk, Muak Tô (Mae Hongson).
Red Mussö	„ Müang Fang.
Black Mussö	„ Müang Fang.
White Maeo	„ Nãn, Loei.
White Maeo	„ San Mahaphon (Chiengmai), Nãn.
Black Maeo	„ San Mahaphon (Chiengmai), Nãn.
Yao	„ Nãn.
Hô	„ Nãn.
Chinese	„ Puket.
Annamite	„ Chantaburi.

Many of the above are represented by both male and female, and a few by children's dresses, besides turbans, scarves, bags and various jewelry.

A complete collection of Siam's national and tribal dresses should include those of the Thai Yo, Thai Yüei and Puthai of N. E. Siam, those of the Sô, Kalüng, Khã Brao, Khã Hinhao and Kui also in N. E. Siam, and the dresses of the Lissaw (Müang Fang) and more dresses of the septs and clans of the white and red Karéns and of the Karangs.



Thai Gao girl (Ubol).



Maeo people (N. E. of Chiangmai).

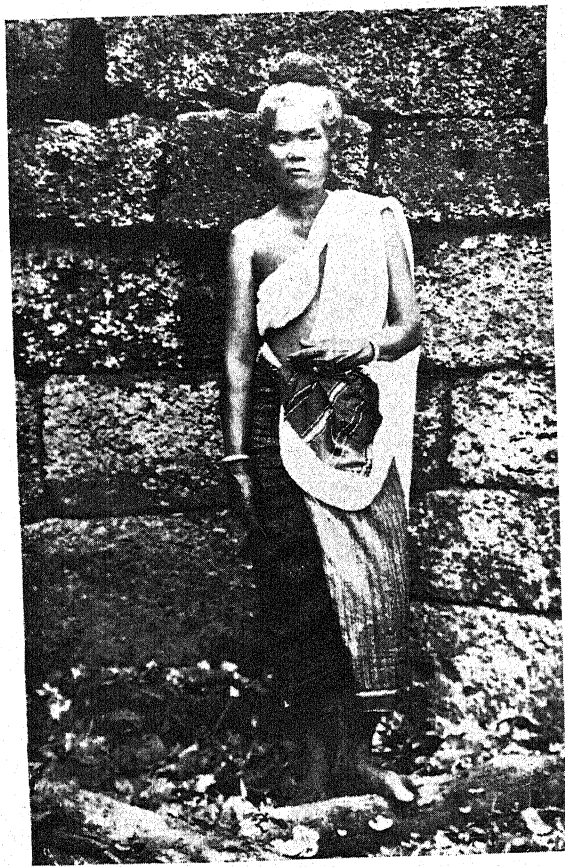
Photo by H. B. G.



Yao girls.



Thai Lü.



Gui woman (N. E. Siam).



Gaw women (North Siam).



Musiti (North Siam).



Sgaw Karen villagers (Doi Angka, North Siam).

Photo by H. B. G.



NOTES AND QUERIES.

I

KRALAHOM.

The question of the derivation of the word Kralahom as the name of the office of a Minister of State is not even now settled. Here is yet another clue:

An inscription has been found at Sdok Kak Thom near Aranya on the Franco-Thai border, which has been studied by M. Finot in his 16th *note d'épigraphie* (BEFEO XV, 2). This inscription is undated, but contains several dates, the latest of which is 974 Çaka, which is A. D. 1052. In it occurs the phrase *vrah kralā-homa*, on face D, line 28, thus:

Jā ācāryya-homa siñ nā *vrah kralā-homa* uk...

This passage was translated by Finot:

Il y en eut qui furent premiers ācāryas ou ācāryahoma, officiant dans la sainte aire du sacrifice.

In other words the term *vrah kralā-homa* referred, according to the learned author, to a holy area where sacrifices were performed.

It seems to me that *vrah kralā-homa* here is just the identical name which was later given by King Boroma Trailok to the office of the Military Prime Minister of XV century Thailand. The Prime Minister himself being the *Samuha* or chief of the department. Now if we look up the old Thai treatise on military science we would find that tactics consisted in a large measure of magical practice. Here one could give free rein to superstition, since no Buddhist precepts could find a place in the art of war in any case and hence could not be in the way. It would take but little imagination therefore to see the area of Brahmin sacrifices being developed into an area of war preparations along magical lines. Thence the superintendent of

the area would naturally be the Military Prime Minister. In this country the office of Kralāhom (or Kalāhom as it is now spelt) has, after many vicissitudes, been finally identified with the ministry in charge of War or Defence. In Cambodia the office has charge of water transportation, while the office of Chakri, the original Civil Prime Minister has a similar charge on land. This is easily recognisable as but one of the phases of its development, for in this country too there were occasions when both Prime Ministers were leaders of the fighting forces, and the chief of the Kralāhom was usually given charge of naval warfare. From warfare the change to civil transportation in Cambodia was only natural in modern circumstances. There is therefore no reason for an argument to the contrary on account of the modern Cambodian usage of the term.

In this connection it may be of interest to examine the uses of the word *Kralā* by itself. In the inscription of Prāsāt Kōmphu's (Coedès: *Inscriptions du Cambodge, Vol. I, 1937. p. 185*) there is a list setting forth objects which belonged to the temple and among the objects is mentioned a *kralā vrah kāla*, which M. Coedès has not, however, explained. One cannot but be tempted to see in this term some connection with the time-piece in use in olden times in this country made out of a coconut shell. It seems possible too that such a connection might have been the cause by which *kralā* has come to mean a coconut shell. It is moreover worth noting that, while *kralā* (an area) has become a coconut shell, the word for a timepiece in the Thai language was *nālikā*, obviously from the Pali *nalikera* a coconut tree. Even the modern mechanical time-piece is a *nalikā*.

Another use of the word *kralā* is to be found in the *Thammasāt* where it has the sense, this time, of an area. The passage is: เข้าสู่พระกรลาบ้นทมบรมสุขุไสยาสน which may be translated: *enters the area of the royal Bedchamber.*

D.

Bangkok, August 12th, 1939.

II

MEGALITHS IN THAILAND.

The following information and permission to publish it has been given this month to the writer by H. S. H. Mom Chao Sanit P. Rangsit on his return from an ethnological expedition to Umphai in the Me Sarieng district of Chiangmai, on the way to which he took the photograph of the Megalith here reproduced.

The Megalith stands about 1.m 20cm high, and is one of a group of four or five similar stones lying near the site of a deserted Lawā village and about 2. km. distant from the famous iron-mine at Me Tho, on the way from Bô Luang (Amphoe Me Hôt) to Umphai.

The group of stones is disposed in the same circular formation as the posts or stakes which the Lawā erect near their burial grounds, not to mark the site of a grave, but rather in honour of the dead persons buried some little distance from the posts.

The Lawā call these burial posts *Nām*, and say that in the past their aristocracy, *Khun*, were honoured by the erection of *Nām* in stone to distinguish them from the common people for whom wooden posts sufficed, as is now the case for the whole population. The group of *Nām* in stone near Ban Me Tho, to which the megalith of our illustration belongs, therefore marks the site of a burial ground of highly placed Lawā of earlier days.

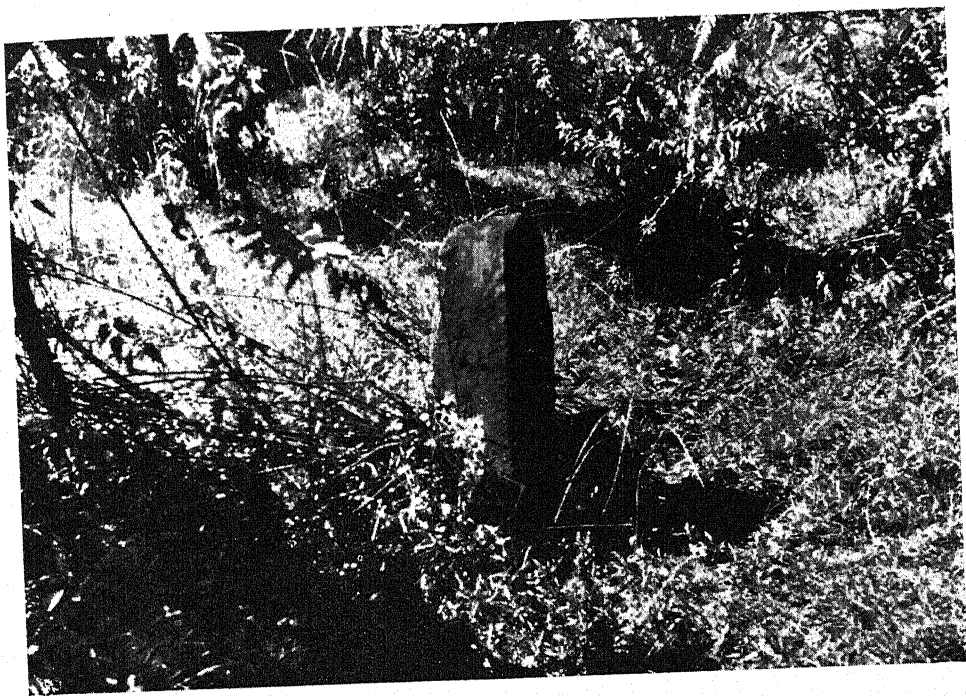
The megaliths appear to have been roughly hewn by hand, and the reason given to account for the fact that many are either recumbent or out of the perpendicular is as follows.—The Karen neighbours of the Lawā, who know the Lawā custom of burying a dead person's personal possessions with him, such as spear, etc., often explore the neighbourhood of these Megaliths in the hope of finding hidden treasure, and thus cause the surrounding soil to subside, and the Megaliths to lean or fall. Since however the graves are invariably

some distance from the stones, the labour of the Karen desecrators is in vain.

This information throws an interesting light upon the groups of stones at Me Saleeum described by Messrs Ennals and Miles, and leaves little doubt but that they are *Nām* posts erected in days gone by to the memory of the more important inhabitants of the former Lawā settlement said to have existed in their neighbourhood.

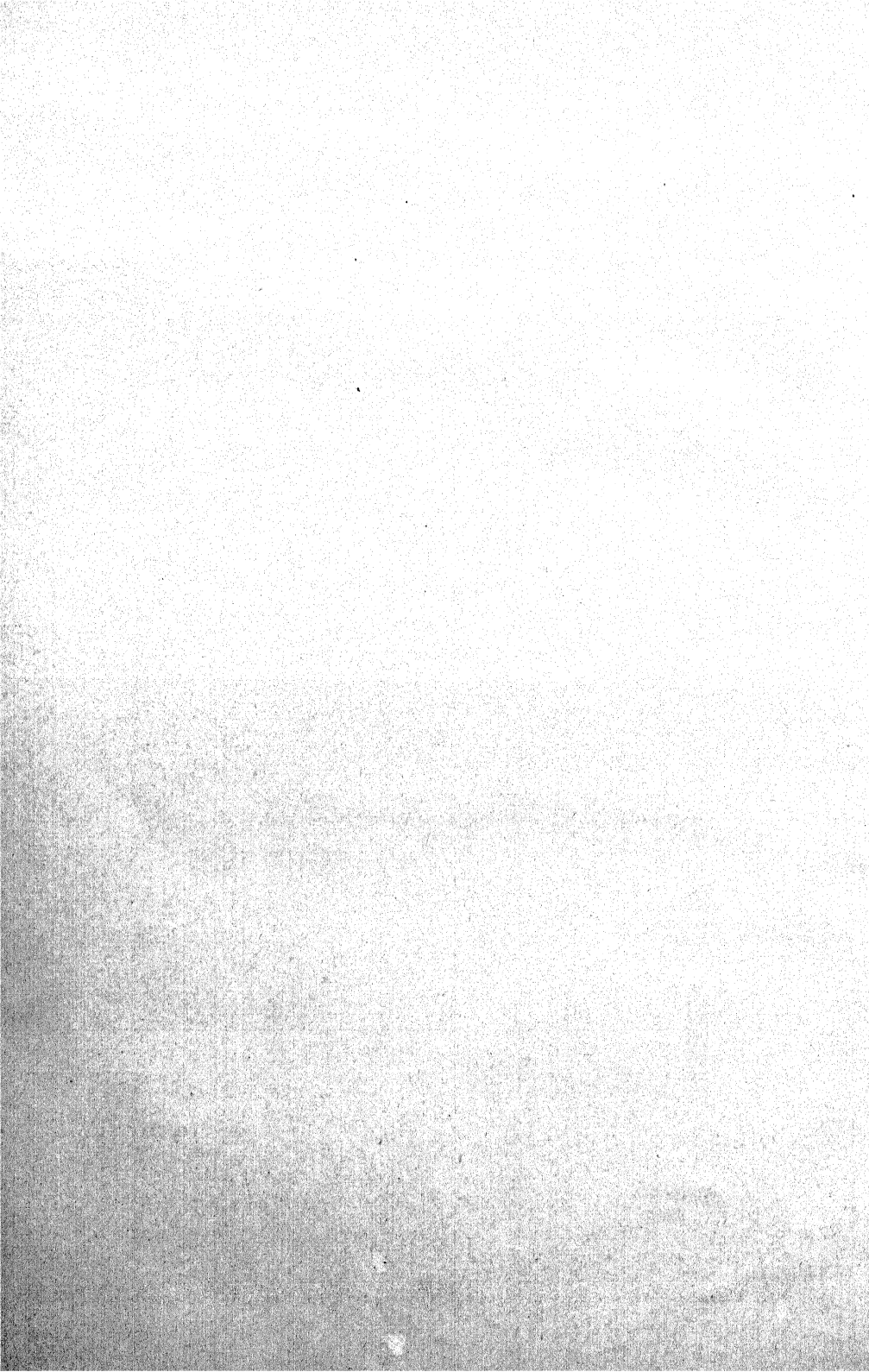
E. HUTCHINSON.

Chiengmai, 10th March, 1939.



Megalith near the Me Tō iron mines, N. Siam.

Photo by M. C. Sanit Rangsit.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

G. COEDÈS: *Inscriptions du Cambodge, éditées et traduites*, Vol. I, Hanoi, 1937.

In the introduction to this stately work, consisting of 323 pages of text and a supplement containing 44 beautiful facsimiles of the stone inscriptions treated, Professor Coedès, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, a former President of the Siam Society of which he is now an Honorary Member, says that since the *Liste générale des inscriptions du Champa et du Cambodge* was published in 1923, no less than 309 new inscriptions have been discovered in Cambodia, besides 25 in Champā (the present-day Annam).

The present volume, which forms Part III. of *Collection de textes et documents sur l'Indochine*, contains some particularly important inscriptions found since 1929 on *stelae* at the great monuments of Bakon, Phra Ko, Banteai Srei and Pre Rup, all of which have to do with the foundation of these grand temples, besides others at Bayan, Koh Ker, Bantay Srei, Prasat Khna and Prasat Tor.

These inscriptions are of great interest for the political and religious history of Cambodia. The book is piously dedicated to Professor Coedès' late teacher, the distinguished savant, Professor Louis Finet, who alas! is no longer among us.

The inscriptions cover the period from the latter half of the 6th century A. D., i.e. the reign of King Bhavavarman II., up to the very beginning of the 13th century, the reign of Jayavarman VII., the mighty builder of the second and present Angkor Thom with its city walls and its Bodhisatva-faced gate towers, as well as of the Bayon and the many hospitals spread over his far flung empire. Almost all these inscriptions are, from the religious point of view, Brahmanic, and especially Śivaitic. The contents are mostly panegyrics of the Khmer kings praising and exalting their divine powers and intelli-

gence, their virtues and physical beauty, and their victories over hosts of enemies. These mighty kings not only routed their foes, cleaving the skulls of their numerous war elephants, but also, by a single glance, conquered the hearts of all maidens and women!

When reading these poems in stone one's memory of that most stupendous epic the *Mahabharata*, as well as of passages in the *Ramayana* and some of the *Puranas*, is constantly refreshed. One has here an occasion to admire the translator's profound knowledge and sagacity in explaining the most difficult wordings. Professor Coedès seems to have thoroughly entered into the spirit of those far away times, and hence his unique ability to present them to us in the full light of scientific truth.

Many of the inscriptions concern donations to temples of paddy fields, domestic animals, male and female slaves, musicians, dancers and singers. It is well known that the huge Phra Khan temple possessed thousands of such servants and slaves. It is surely also no exaggeration to state that Cambodia, towards the end of its great epoch, must have been very much priest-ridden. This in connection with the enormous temple constructions and other examples of *corvée* may well have weakened the national will power, with the result that the Khmer were so easily and so disastrously defeated by the Thai.

The wild people mentioned in some of the inscriptions probably allude to the Khā, Kui, Samré or Chong.

These inscriptions also contribute much to our knowledge of the dress, ornaments and weapons of the old Khmer as pictured on the reliefs in the Bayon and Angkor Wat especially.

At the foundation of temples it is often mentioned that images of Brahmanic gods and goddesses were installed, which were fashioned with the traits of the parents or other relatives of the reigning kings. The worship of the particular god or goddess was thus combined with an act of piety towards dear relatives who also in their turn would profit by this act in their next reincarnation. A similar idea is known in Buddhist Thailand where in Wat Phra Kaeo at the two foremost corners of the altar, which is crowned by the so-called Emerald Buddha, stand two life sized gilt statues holding nine tiered umbrellas in their hands. These statues represent Gautama in his princely dress and were made in memory of the two first kings of the Chakkri dynasty.

As a very characteristic inscription may be mentioned, that from Prasat Andon which is composed of invocations of Śiva, Ganga (Mekhong), Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Uma, Bharatī, Kambu and the kings of Cambodia. Follows a eulogy of the following kings:—Yaśovarman (A. D. 889-910); Harṣavarman I. (910); Iśanavarman II. (928); and Jayavarman IV. (928-942); and the erection of a *linga* for Iśvara (Śiva). The date of the inscription would be between A. D. 928 and 942.

In the 87th *śloka* of the long and pompous foundation inscription at Pre Rup one notes that death on the battlefield is rewarded by re-birth in the heavenly paradise in the company of the beautiful Apsaras, quite a Mohammedan idea, which, by the way, is also found in the Asa faith of ancient Scandinavia.

To judge from the inscriptions, science and higher education was much to the fore in old Cambodia. This involved not only a deep knowledge of Sanscrit, the Vedas, Puranas, Mahabharata and Ramayana but also of many of the philosophical systems of ancient India.

It cannot and should not be denied that Siam, or Thailand, to a great extent was and still is the inheritor of this great culture which, mingled with the virility and free born spirit of the ancient Thai, has created the present day Thai culture whose language, poetry and drama we all love so much.

After the reading of this deeply fascinating work one also now understands from which source the kings of Sukhothai drew their self-panegyrics in which they vaunted themselves of their knowledge of the Vedas, Tripitakas and astronomy.

It should also be added that in the Śivaitic inscription found at Tan Kran (now in Musée Albert Sarraut in Pnompenh) the name of the capital of the Pallavas, Kancipura, is mentioned. As far as Professor Coedès knows, this is the first time that such mention is encountered in any Indochinese inscription. This is very interesting as it may indicate that at that time (latter half of the 7th century A. D.) there still were connections with the Pallava kingdom in South India.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 31st July, 1939.

LUANG BORIBAL BURIBHAND: พระมหาธาตุเมืองไชยาเก่า (*The Sacred Reliquary in Old Mûang Chaiya*), Bangkok, May 1937.

This small pamphlet of 20 pages was written for distributing on the occasion of the ceremony of the hoisting in place of the gilt parasol spire on the top of the restored stupa which forms the centre of this very old sanctuary of the South. In the first part of the pamphlet Luang Boribal sketches the history of the empire of Srivijaya based on Professor Coedès' researches and rejects quite rightly the fantastic theory of Dr. Quaritch Wales according to whom Chaiya should have been the capital of the great hinduized Malay empire. He arrives at the conclusion that Chaiya is identical with Grahi but that its foundation is of a later date than that of Takuapa and Grabī (and Nakon Srithiammarat) which from the style of the sculptures found there, have been proved to go back to the fifth century. On the other hand in view of the many large temple ruins found in and around Chaiya, whose age archaeologically may be fixed to about the middle of the eighth century A. D., this town must already have been a very opulent one at that time. Luang Boribal, supporting himself on authorities like the late Dr. Van Stein Callenfels and Professor Coedès (he might have included Monsieur Claeys too), concludes that the Phra Maha That is no less than 1180 years old. He may be right. The stupa is of the style which we know from Java as a Tjandi, and according to M. Claeys the brick construction is analogous to that used by the Chām. Even the manner of binding the bricks together is identical with that used in ancient Champā and the same binding material, the composition of which is still an unsolved riddle, was used here as there.

Luang Boribal points out the many most rare and valuable antiquities which have been found at Chaiya, such as two images of Avalokitesvara, a stone head of the Buddha and the beautiful bust of an Avalokitesvara in *samrit* which is now one of the greatest treasures of the National Museum in Bangkok, not to speak of the fine image of the Buddha sitting on the Nāga, on the pedestal of which is engraved an inscription in Cambodian indicating that the image was cast by orders received from the Emperor of Srivijaya in A. D. 1183. The standing Buddha in the niche in the stupa of Wat Phra Maha That is, however, of Gupta work from the Dvaravati period and may as such be much older, perhaps by 500 or 600 years. The language of the inscription on the Buddha sitting on the Nāga is

rather intriguing. Why was the inscription made in Khmer, and not in Sanscrit, which would have been more befitting the Mahayanistic Malays (though the Khmer also belonged to that cult at the end of the 12th century)? Had Chaiya been under Khmer rule for some time before the statue was cast or had their language been retained as that of the upper classes since the time when the peninsula formed part of the Funan Empire?

Luang Boribal mentions also the old chronicle found by Phra Phichai Decha at Vieng Sra, which is said to be kept in H. R. H. Prince Damrong's library. I regret I have not been able to peruse its contents. The wanderings of a colony of Tamil immigrants across the peninsula during the latter half of the fifth century from Takuapa via Müang Khiriratt, Müang Grabi and Vieng Sra finally to settle on the east coast at Tambralinga or Nakhon Sri Thammarat may not sound incredible at all. However, that this was due to Mohammedan persecution is impossible, as Islam had not yet come into being at that early time.

Luang Boribal has done good work in bringing to the knowledge of his Thai country-men an interesting part of the ancient history of Pak Tai.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 31st July, 1939.

MAJOR JOHN MORRIS: *Living with Lepchas, a book about the Sikkim Himalayas*, Heinemann, London & Toronto, 1938; 312 pages, 2 maps and 77 photographs, the latter all taken by the Author.

The author of this very interesting and outspoken book is a retired Major of the Gurkhas who, besides having taken part in two attempts to climb Mr. Everest (in 1922 and 1936), has wandered widely, in part as a recruiting officer, in Nepal, Bhutan and along the Himalayas, going even as far as Karakorum and Chinese Turkestan. He is therefore an already distinguished explorer, and he reveals himself in the present book as a keen and accomplished observer as well as an author of no mean merit. His style is fluent and easy, and what he tells you is always to the point. Readers, like the writer of these lines, who have themselves had the good fortune to study and live with primitive people, will admire Major Morris' gift of close and

accurate observation and exact description of even the smallest traits of a people which he learnt to know so intimately.

Major Morris is a very unconventional writer, to put it mildly. He calls a spade a spade, but one feels instinctively that what he tells you is the truth, a quite unsmirched truth at that. He does so, moreover, in spite of his very evident and great liking of a people who are not without sympathetic traits.

The Lepchas live in the protected state of Sikkim which forms a part of the very slopes of gigantic Himalaya. As a matter of fact the third highest mountain in the world, the Kinchinjunga, clearly visible from many places in their country, is worshipped by these primitive hill dwellers as a mighty God.

Now there is a far cry from Sikkim to Siam and readers of the Journal of the Siam Society might argue that Sikkim is not a neighbouring country and therefore of no immediate interest. However, when one reads this book carefully it will be seen that not a few traits and customs are common to Lepchas and Thai or at least to Lepchas and some of the other inhabitants of Thailand; and it may be of interest to mention these.

Common to Lepchas and our animists, are the numerous gods (*thevada*) and devils (*phi*) that people the universe and inhabit trees, rocks and rivers. The author stresses, however, the point that the Lepchas are not animistic in the true sense of that word; *i.e.* they do not believe that this or that particular object is living but only that it serves as the abode of such and such a spirit.

The Lepchas are pestered with thousands of ridiculous and revolting superstitions which must be adhered to in order not to offend the devils. Many of their superstitions are shared by our Thai peasants. As a saving grace it may, however, be added that the Lepchas often disregard these restrictions, and when asked why, they reply that it really does not matter! Officially the Lepchas are Buddhists of the Mahayana church but their Buddhism is a very degraded one, like the character of their monks who combine ignorance with unchastity.

The Lepchas belong to the Tibeto-Burmese branch of the so-called yellow race, and they are domiciled in one of our earth's most beautiful and awe inspiring countries with soaring snow clad mountain peaks, huge glaciers, thick forests, crystal clear water courses and rushing water falls but alas! they do not seem to appreciate this beauty at all. All Lepchas are agriculturists and quite good at this profession

but due to improvidence, laziness and drunkenness, and probably not least to their oversexed minds, they do not make any headway. Moreover sexual over-indulgence at too early an age makes for sterility, so the Lepchas are a dying people. The author shows himself very fond of these good humoured, peaceful, hospitable and generous folk, who live in a primitive state of communism, and that in spite of their filthiness and more than loose sexual morals.

Adultery, polygamy and a kind of polyandry all go on merrily within the village community, and nobody seems to mind as all the members of the same village are considered, more or less, as belonging to the same family with the result that the women may change partners more than once.

As already said, the Lepchas are officially Mahayanists, but of such a degraded and distorted type that it is difficult to believe that it has anything in common with the pure and lofty tenets of the Buddha. The Lepchas may be considered as kindhearted but superstitious materialists. Compare this with our present day Europeans and Americans who are also mostly materialistic but hardly so kindhearted. The Lepchas believe in gods and devils while the Whites have made the dynamo their god. Which is to be preferred?

Major Morris has given us an intimate picture of the daily life of the Lepchas besides furnishing us with the life story of many individuals, both male and female, from the cradle to the tomb. His book is a piece of thoroughgoing ethnological study, a brilliant exposé in social anthropology, the excellence of which is seldom met with elsewhere.

The author declares himself against the missionaries whom he charges with having done much harm to these primitive people. In the case of the Scottish Mission to the Lepchas, which is led by such an outstanding personality as Dr. Graham, he makes an exception, however. He admits that the conversion of Lepchas to Christianity has transformed them into strict monogamists who may marry for love alone, who become more independent, have more initiative, and are cleaner than the unconverted Lepchas.

It therefore seems illogical when Major Morris in order to save his beloved Lepchas of the Jonge *reservate* (who are protected against the land-grabbing Gurkhas but not against the Indian usurers that enslave the poor improvident Lepchas for their life-time by the help of false accounts) demands that the Christian Church should see its way

to compromise in the matters of polygyny and illegitimacy, which, of course, would not save this dying people. But this is by the way. Major Morris has written a brilliant book illustrated by a wealth of wonderful photographs which makes this fascinating country very vivid to one, and as such it should be widely read.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, the 1st June 1939.

PHYA SRISHTIKARBANCHONG: ประวัติมอญในสยาม (*History of the Môn in Siam*), Bangkok, 1938.

Phya Srishtikarbanchong, former Chief Engineer of the Royal State Railways and for a short time Director-General of the same, at present a member of the Council and honorary Librarian of the Siam Society, has written a small pamphlet (8 pages) giving a summary of the history of the Môn, the inhabitants of Siam up to the penetration of the Thai in the 11th to the 13th centuries, which resulted in the amalgamation of these two peoples, the Môn adopting the Thai tongue. The New Môn or Môn immigrants from Burma who fled from Burmese persecution came over here at long intervals, the first arriving in A. D. 1584, the next in 1663, then again in 1774, and finally in 1815. The author says that there are ample proofs in the form of antiquities and blood relationship to show that this land of the Thai was formerly peopled by the Môn right from Lamphun in the north down to the northern parts of the Malay peninsula—which, of course, is a well known fact by now.

The Môn immigrants were settled at many places in the southern parts of the Menam plain such as at Ayudhya, Prathumthani (Sam Kok), Pakret, Paklat, and Dhonburi as well as at Raheng, Uthai-thani, Lopburi, Kanchanaburi and Bang Pong. The Môn were always faithful and loyal subjects of the Thai kings and during the long drawn wars between Siam and Burma, which lasted from the beginning of the 1760's up to 1824, Môn soldiers fought gallantly for the Thai cause. In the latter year Chaophya Maha Yotha, a Môn himself, was sent with a Môn corps via the pass at the Three Pagodas to conquer the Tenasserim region, which he did. The conquest was, however, achieved peaceably as the Môn governors and headmen all rallied to Chaophya Maha Yotha. At that time the

British were fighting the Burmese and they had the intention of re-establishing a Môn state. They even wanted Chaophya Maha Yotha to head the new state but this Môn nobleman declined the offer, preferring to remain one of King Phra Puttha Loes La's trusted men. All this is well told in the all too short pamphlet under review by Phya Srishtikarbanchong, himself a descendant of one of the high Môn noblemen who joined the cause of the Thai against the common foe. It is well known that many of our most distinguished families, both princely and common, are strongly infused with Môn blood, which has produced many outstanding personalities of both sexes. The Môn in Siam numbered, some 30 and 40 years ago, about 60,000 individuals (according to W. A. Graham's *Siam*) but whether there still are 60,000 *Môn speaking* people in this country is uncertain. However, according to the experience of the writer of these lines the younger generation of all the Môn settlements still speak their ancient tongue, though they cannot read it. Quite recently there has been a strong literary and national revival of the Môn in Lower Burma who are endeavouring to keep their language alive. As, of an estimated number of about 300,000 people, not more than half speak the Môn language, the success of this movement seems doubtful. The late Reverend R. Halliday, of the mission of the Churches of Christ to the Môn in Siam and Burma, is, of course, the historian of the Môn (whom he preferred to call *Talaing*, though Môn is now accepted as the true name of this people). In addition to an excellent Môn-English Dictionary¹ (published and sold by the Siam Society), Dr. Halliday has written the history and cultural and material life of the Môn² which so far is the standard work on the Môn people. He has also, if memory serves right, translated large portions of the Bible into Môn.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 18th June, 1939.

CAMILLE NOTTON: *Légendes sur le Siam et le Cambodge* (translation de M. Camille Notton, Consul de France,) 1939, Assumption Printing Press, Bangkok; 115 pages with illustrations and vignettes.

¹ *A Môn-English Dictionary*, The Siam Society, Bangkok 1922.

² *The Talaings*, Government Printing, Rangoon 1917.

This small book appears as the fourth volume of M. Notton's *Annales du Siam* and is a translation of *The Northern Chronicle* (พงศาวดารเหนือ). As such it is a meritorious piece of work. In his preface M. Notton says that historians do not consider this Northern Chronicle to be of much value due to its confusing tales and phantastic chronology, though they admit that it may contain valuable details. This was also the opinion of the late King Vajiravudh, who says so in his interesting book, *Thiao Müang Phra Ruang*. However, when M. Notton goes so far as to pretend that our knowledge of the origin of the Khmer civilization is not to be had from the inscriptions, but from documents such as those published by him in his *Annales du Siam*, we cannot follow him.

To us such a pretension amounts to substituting facts for fiction and to basing our conclusions on legends and myths instead of on historical documents. We say so without denying the indirect value of the various local northern chronicles so patiently translated and commented on by M. Notton.

M. Notton speaks of a Khmer dominion over Siam lasting from the Vth to the XIIIth century A. D. This statement can only be accepted as correct in part. The Khmer did not become the masters of the Menam plain until about 1000 A. D. Prior to that time the Môn, no doubt, were independent, though before the VIth century A. D. they may have been under the sway of the ancient empire of Funan. M. Notton has supplied his translation with a number of interesting notes but his juggling with dates to suit his purpose seems a little dangerous to us.

ERIK SEIDENFADEN.

Bangkok, 27th June, 1939.

YOSHIO KOBAYASHI: *Wanimaru, Südseefahrt japanischer Pfadfinder*; Herder, Freiburg -i- Br., 1937.

This interesting book, published in the German language and addressed primarily to the Youth of Germany, is by no means devoid of appeal to us in Thailand. It contains, in pleasant narrative form, an account of a long voyage undertaken by a 174-ton sailing ship, the *Wanimaru*, manned by a crew of Japanese sea scouts. One still remembers their visit to this country in 1934 in the course of their adventurous cruise; and they certainly have not been forgotten, for

the author has devoted two full chapters to a description of their stay in Thai waters and on Thai land.

Mr. Kobayashi wields a lively and an imaginative pen, and, with his perfect command of readable German, he recounts the *Wanimaru's* journey from Tokio to Formosa, Manila, Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore, Sonrabaya, Macassar, the Caroline islands and back again to Japan. The reader is not given one dull moment from cover to cover, and many delightful and often amusing illustrations cheer him on his way. Historical anecdotes, treated from an informative rather than a scholarly viewpoint, blend harmoniously with an eventful itinerary, while cheerful observations on the joys and privations of the crew show the indomitable spirit of Nippon's seafaring sons.

What interests us most of all, naturally enough, is that part of the book which refers to Thailand. The *Wanimaru* was scheduled to arrive in Bangkok at the beginning of September 1934, and her advent to these shores was scarcely propitious. Greeted by a squall, the good ship immediately ran on to a sandbank in the vicinity of our treacherous Bar. After an anxious night, the *Wanimaru* was happily rescued from this predicament and finally sailed up-river to Paknam, only to be assailed once more, this time by a multitude of relentless mosquitoes.

A brief but appropriate account is given of the part played by Yamada Nagamasa and his associates in the history of this country. In the troublous days which followed the reign of King Songtham, the Japanese who had settled in Ayudhya certainly had an uneasy time, and it is satisfactory to record that their fellow-nationals of a later age, imbued with a kindred zest for adventure, received a more whole-hearted welcome. During their visit, the Japanese sea scouts were able to pay a visit to Ayudhya and to erect a memorial to their forebears.

The reception accorded the visitors was fittingly elaborate. They were well looked-after by the Thai Boy Scouts Organization and were royally received by H. R. H. the Regent. They had an opportunity of seeing all the interesting places and sights that Bangkok had to offer. When the time came for them to depart, they were presented with a suitable souvenir, a Thai cat, which subsequently returned all proffered compliments by being a very bad sailor.

REGINALD LE MAY: *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*, Cambridge, University Press, 1938, in-4°, XXI-165 pp., 2 maps, 205 fig.

Tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'art et à l'archéologie du Siam attendaient avec impatience le livre que M. le May projetait depuis longtemps de consacrer à la sculpture bouddhique siamoise. Leur attente n'a pas été déçue, et le bel ouvrage qui a valu à son auteur le grade de Ph. D. (Cantab) répond à leurs espérances. Ils y retrouvent les qualités de méthode, de précision, en même temps que le sens esthétique qui caractérisent ses précédents ouvrages. Certains d'entre eux y retrouvent aussi dans, les nombreuses illustrations, les plus belles pièces de sa collection particulière.

Ce travail, conçu au Siam au contact des faits, et mûri dans les bibliothèques et les musées d'Europe, se classe parmi les meilleurs ouvrages qu'on ait consacrés à l'art siamois. Tout au plus sera-t-on tenté de faire à l'auteur un léger grief de s'être parfois laissé dominer par son émotion en face des chefs-d'oeuvre de la sculpture bouddhique, surtout lorsque ces objets lui appartiennent et participent un peu de sa personnalité. Maintes fois, en présence d'une de ces sculptures, il préfère nous décrire les sentiments qu'elle lui inspire, en quoi elle constitue à ses yeux une oeuvre d'art, plutôt que d'analyser froidement et objectivement les éléments qui concourent à produire cette impression. Lorsqu'il s'agit de classer une pièce de sculpture dans la chronologie, et de lui assigner une place dans une des écoles qui ont simultanément ou successivement fleuri dans les régions constituant l'actuel royaume de Siam, la méthode rigoureuse instituée par M. Ph. Stern est certainement plus féconde en résultats précis. Mais je reconnais qu'un exposé s'attachant à découvrir, à décrire et à suivre dans leur évolution des détails de parure, de costume, de décoration en apparence insignifiants, constitue une lecture assez rebutante, et le Dr. le May a sans doute préféré offrir à ses lecteurs un ouvrage plus aisément assimilable et plus propre à leur donner le goût de l'art bouddhique au Siam.

Le sujet est d'ailleurs si vaste et encore si peu étudié qu'il eût fallu plusieurs volumes pour le traiter d'une manière exhaustive, en appliquant la méthode minutieuse et méticuleuse de M. Stern. Par sa clarté et la prudence de ses conclusions, le livre du Dr. le May constitue une excellente introduction à des études plus poussées, et l'on souhaite ardemment que, après avoir fait ce que le jargon politique

appelle "le point," ou "un tour d'horizon," il reprenne une à une les diverses périodes de l'archéologie siamoise, consacrant à chacune d'elles une étude sensiblement plus poussée, où, à côté de la sculpture, une large place soit faite à l'architecture et à la décoration : ce sont là deux aspects de l'archéologie du Siam que le Dr. le May a un peu négligés dans son livre, et je ne doute pas que leur étude ne permette d'élucider divers problèmes d'origine et d'évolution que la sculpture est impuissante à résoudre.

Suivons maintenant l'auteur dans son exposé.

Dans le premier chapitre d'introduction, après avoir dit en quoi, selon sa conception personnelle, l'art d'Extrême-Orient se distingue de l'art occidental, il résume brièvement les recherches de ses devanciers. Il formule à cette occasion (p. 8-12) une excellente critique du livre de Salmony, *Sculpture in Siam*, dont la documentation iconographique est très insuffisante et dont la partie historique est au-dessous du médiocre. Dans sa préface (p. IX), le Dr. le May dit que, en dehors de ce livre, le seul ouvrage qui ait été publié sur ce sujet est le volume que j'ai consacré dans *Ars Asiatica* aux collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok. Le jugement flatteur qu'il porte sur cet ouvrage, ainsi que tout ce qu'il trouve à dire d'aimable, au cours de son exposé, sur mes travaux au Siam, me touche infiniment. Mais, tout en l'assurant de ma très sincère gratitude, je suis presque tenté de lui faire grief de m'avoir si fidèlement suivi en établissant son cadre chronologique et sa division de la matière iconographique en écoles. Certes, il a sur certains points rectifié ma chronologie et complété mon tableau de répartition en écoles, mais il conserve en gros mes rubriques : Dvāravatī, Cīvijaya, Lōp'ūri, Cīng Sēn, Sūkhot'āi, U T'ōng, Āyūth'ya. En établissant en 1926 ces divisions provisoires, destinées surtout à permettre de classer les pièces du nouveau Musée National en sections distinctes (la muséographie a de ces fâcheuses exigences), je n'entendais pas créer une nomenclature définitive, et je me rappelle mon effroi en entendant un jour un des revendeurs chinois du Samp'eng me proposer l'achat de deux têtes de Buddha qu'il affirmait être respectivement du Dvāravatī et de l'U T'ōng. Comme on va le voir, le Dr. le May a amélioré ma nomenclature, mais il a respecté le schéma général. J'aurais préféré qu'il le remit en question à la faveur de l'étude très poussée qu'il semble avoir faite du sujet. Mais ce qui est fait est fait, et les

Chinois du Samp'rêng continueront à vendre du Dvāravatī (authentique ou non), et de l'U T'ông . . .

C'est dans son second chapitre que, après avoir brossé à grands traits un aperçu géographique du Siam et de ses divisions naturelles : Nord, Centre, Nord-Est et Sud, le Dr. le May énumère les neuf écoles d'art entre lesquelles se répartissent les sculptures bouddhiques du Siam. Ce sont, par ordre chronologique, ordre que suivra l'auteur dans son exposé :—

Style Indien pur	jusqu'au V ^e siècle A. D.
„ Môn-indien Gupta (Dvāravatī)	V ^e – X ^e s.
„ Indo-javanais (Çrīvijaya)	VII ^e – XII ^e s.
„ Khmèr et de transition Môn-khmèr (Lōp'būri)	X ^e – XIII ^e s.
„ T'ăi (C'rieng Sên)	XI ^e – XIV ^e s.
„ T'ăi (Sūkhot'ăi)	XIII ^e – XIV ^e s.
„ Transition khmèr-t'ăi (U T'ông)	XIII ^e – XIV ^e s.
„ T'ăi (Lōp'būri)	XV ^e – XVII ^e
„ T'ăi (Āyūth'ya)	XIV ^e – XVII ^e

On voit que les termes géographiques de ma nomenclature : Dvāravatī, Çrīvijaya, etc., sont doublés par des termes qui mettent plutôt l'accent sur les groupes ethniques auxquels appartenaient les articles.

Dans ce deuxième chapitre, l'auteur liquide brièvement, sous la rubrique “ style indien pur ”, les trouvailles de P'ông Tū'k, et quelques pièces de collections sur lesquelles je reviendrai plus loin.

Les chapitres suivants (III à XI) étudient successivement les huit autres écoles, et donnent à propos de chacune d'elles un court résumé historique, tout en tenant compte de la division du pays en régions géographiques. Il en résulte parfois une certaine confusion dans l'exposé, qui, à propos de chaque région, est obligé de revenir en arrière : mais c'est là un inconvénient mineur sur lequel il y aurait mauvaise grâce à insister.

À propos de l'école môn-indienne de Dvāravatī (ch. III) le Dr. le May prolonge avec raison jusqu'au XI^e siècle (p. 24) l'existence de cette école dont j'avais enfermé les productions assez variées dans les VI^e et VII^e siècles. Il a tort, par contre d'affirmer qu'il n'existe pas d'édifices de cette période. On a exhumé en 1928 à Vāt Yăi, près de P'ra Pāthôm de curieux soubassements, d'aspect encore très indien, qui ont été reproduits par Luang Boribai dans *Ancient Monuments*

of Siam (I, p. 40, pl. IV). Il est probable d'autre part que les parties les plus anciennes du San Sung de Lōp'būri remontent à l'époque Môn : c'est d'ailleurs de ce point que provient l'inscription môn de Lōp'būri.

Sur Crīvijaya (ch. IV), le résumé historique n'est déjà plus à jour, tant a été rapide le progrès des recherches depuis deux ans. On ne saurait en faire grief à l'auteur. Toutefois, dans un livre dont la préface est datée septembre 1937, on se serait attendu à trouver mentionnées les trouvailles archéologiques de F. M. Schnitger à Sumatra publiées en monographies en 1935 et 1936 (finalement en un volume in-4°, à Leyde, en 1937), et la critique des théories de M. Quaritch Wales que j'ai donnée dans le *J. Mal. Br. RAS*, fascicule de décembre 1936 (*A propos d'une nouvelle théorie sur le site de Crīvijaya*).

Dans l'exposé historique sur le Fou-nan et le Cambodge (ch. V), les menues erreurs qu'on pourrait signaler proviennent de ce que l'auteur s'est parfois inspiré d'un article de M. Parmentier (*History of Khmer Architecture*) paru en 1931 dans *Eastern Art*. Mais le chapitre se termine par un intéressant parallèle entre l'architecture de cette période et celle des temples de Kharod et de Sirpur dans l'Inde (provinces centrales). On aimerait que le Dr. le May poussât plus avant la recherche dans cette direction, et jusqu'à Bhitargaon qu'il ne mentionne qu'en passant (p. 65) et où il trouvera d'étonnantes ressemblances avec certaines tours d'époque préangkorienne.

Le chapitre VI, consacré à la période khmère, est précieux par la part qu'il fait (p. 68) à l'influence môn de Dvāravatī dans la formation de l'école de Lōp'būri. L'opposition que l'auteur signale (p. 76) entre un certain réalisme de la sculpture khmère et l'idéalisme des images de facture t'ai est plus apparente que réelle : l'art khmère n'est guère plus réaliste que l'art t'ai, seulement son idéal est plus proche du nôtre.

Après un chapitre (VII) presque exclusivement historique sur les T'ai et leurs relations avec la Birmanie, le Dr. le May étudie (chap. VIII) les origines de l'école de C'eng Sên et met très justement en relief l'importance de l'influence Pāla du Bengale que je n'avais fait que suggérer dans mon ouvrage sur le Musée de Bangkok, et dans *Indian Art and Letters* (1930, p. 32 et 36). M. R. Grousset a par ailleurs consacré à "l'art Pāla et Sena dans l'Inde extérieure" un article des *Mélanges Linossier* (p. 277-285), dans lequel, il est vrai,

l'influence sur le Siam est laissée de côté. A propos de l'école de Sūkhōt'āi (chap. IX), le Dr. le May fait très heureusement la part de l'influence singhalaise sur l'art de C'heng Sên d'inspiration Pāla. Le tableau historique est en général exact, mais il est anachronique de dire (p. 109) qu'à la fin du XII^e siècle l'empire khmèr était définitivement sur son déclin. Le règne de Jayavarman VII marque au contraire une grande extension territoriale, les stèles des hôpitaux de 1186 jalonnant tout le territoire jusqu'à Sai Fong, près de Vieng Čăn au Nord et jusqu'à K'orat à l'Ouest; c'est l'époque de la reconstruction d'Angkor Thom sur son plan actuel, et celle de la floraison de l'art du Bayon. Le déclin ne commence vraiment qu'au siècle suivant.

Le chapitre suivant (X) est peut-être celui qui fait la plus large place à l'étude de l'architecture: ce n'est encore qu'une ébauche qui méritera d'être poussée.

La question assez compliquée de la formation de l'école appelée, à tort ou à raison, école d'U T'ông, de son évolution et de sa répartition en styles successifs ou en sous-écoles contemporaines, n'est pas complètement résolue par les recherches du Dr. le May (ch. XI). Les images de ce type sont fort nombreuses, mais leur origine exacte est généralement douteuse, et leur date, faute d'inscription, n'est pas aisée à fixer avec précision. Il faudrait, par l'emploi de la méthode Stern, analyser patiemment les moindres détails: traits du visage, coiffure, flamme, costume, socle, afin d'arriver à une classification rigoureuse. Celle que l'auteur a établie, basée sur l'aspect général et la qualité esthétique des images, n'est peut-être pas éloignée de la vérité, mais j'avoue comprendre assez mal les noms qu'il donne aux divers styles reconnus par lui, et qui sont:

T'āi = Ayuth'ya ancien

T'āi = U T'ông

Khmèr-t'āi = U T'ông, première époque;

Khmèr-t'āi = U T'ông, deuxième époque;

T'āi-khmèr = U T'ông, troisième époque;

T'āi = U T'ông, quatrième époque.

Cette énumération semble correspondre, dans l'esprit de l'auteur, à une courbe qui partirait d'un art purement t'āi, passerait par un art mixte où l'élément d'abord prédominant serait progressivement éliminé, et aboutirait à un art de nouveau purement t'āi.

Or, les images que le Dr. le May range dans les deux premières séries, attribuées à un art purement t'ai (fig. 168 à 170), sont, à mes yeux, aussi khmères que les images dites khmères-t'ai (fig. 171 à 176) et beaucoup plus khmères que les images t'ai-khmères (fig. 178-179). Et parmi celles qu'il appelle khmères-t'ai, et attribue à la première époque d'U T'ông, il y en a (fig. 171, 172) qui se distinguent à peine des statues purement khmères de Lōp'būri (cf. fig. 91). De sorte que si, chronologiquement, sa classification n'est pas très loin de la vérité, elle est peu satisfaisante du point de vue de l'origine ethnique ou de la formation artistique des artistes à qui nous devons ces statues. Cette question de l'école d'U T'ông est à reprendre.

Ce dernier chapitre se termine par un paragraphe sur l'école d'Āyuth'ya.

Dans les lignes qui précèdent, j'ai essayé de donner au lecteur une idée du riche contenu de cet ouvrage, que j'ai lu avec autant de plaisir que d'intérêt, et qui marque une date dans l'histoire de l'art siamois. Les critiques que j'ai formulées à l'égard de certaines théories n'enlèvent rien à sa valeur documentaire. Et je connais assez le Dr. le May pour savoir qu'il les accueillera avec bienveillance. Je terminerai par quelques remarques sur de menus points de détail.

P. 9. Sūkhotaï ne peut être traduit "bonheur des T'ai" qu'en appliquant à la forme parlée de ce composé la syntaxe siamoise, et en faisant un solécisme sur le mot *sukha* qui est du genre neutre en sanskrit et en pâli (*sukham*) et non pas du masculin (*sukho*). La forme écrite *Sukhodaya* doit être analysée *Sukha-udaya* et ne peut signifier que "lever, commencement, origine (*udaya*) du bonheur;" c'est d'ailleurs ainsi que le *Padānukrama*, dictionnaire officiel du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, traduit ce mot (éd. de 1927. p. 776).

P. 17. Je ne suis pas d'accord avec l'auteur sur la date de certaines images de la collection Nai Hong Navanugraha. Ranger les statuettes figurées sous les numéros 10 et 11 parmi les images anciennes, peut-être d'origine indienne, me paraît impossible. Toutes deux pourraient être khmères, et même le numéro 10 avec sa coiffure conique assez basse et à liseré pourrait appartenir au premier style d'U T'ông, tel qu'il est illustré par les numéros 171 et 172. Quant au numéro 11, le visage et la coiffure ne sont pas sans une certaine analogie avec ceux de la statuette numéro 6 classée parmi les images Mōn-Gupta, mais je le crois sensiblement postérieure. Les numéros 13 et 14 qui sont

conservés au Musée National de Bangkok appartiennent à un type répandu à Java et d'origine bengali (Nālandā). J'ai publié il y a 10 ans le numéro 14 dans un article que l'auteur ne semble pas connaître (*Note sur une statuette bouddhique de style indojavaïnaïs provenant du Siam oriental*, Feestbundel uitgegeven door het kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap . . . , p. 53). L'origine de cette statuette n'est pas inconnue, comme le croit l'auteur : elle a été trouvée dans le district de Kosūmpīsāi, province de Māhasarakāṃ, cercle de K'orat.

P. 25. L'auteur prend nettement position dans la controverse sur l'origine de la représentation indienne du Buddha. Il se range aux côtés de Coomaraswamy, qui refuse d'attribuer à cette représentation une origine grecque, et accuse la partie adverse, en l'espèce Alfred Foucher, d'un préjugé européen de supériorité raciale. Je n'ai pas l'intention de m'immiscer dans cette querelle ; mais ce que je tiens à dire, c'est que autant le préjugé racial est peu apparent dans les écrits d'Alfred Foucher, autant il éclate dans ceux de Coomaraswamy dont le nationalisme indien prend même parfois l'aspect d'un particularisme dravidien.

P. 29, figure 25. La grande image de Buddha debout provient de Sūkhotāi et non pas de Prā Pāthōm. Cette origine septentrionale ajoute grandement à l'intérêt de cette statue.

P. 30, fig. 27. Il existe au Vāt Sūtrāt de Bangkok, encastrée dans la partie postérieure de la grande statue de Buddha du *vihāra*, une dalle sculptée analogue et de même style, mais beaucoup plus fine, qui aurait mérité la reproduction. Elle représente également le Grand Miracle.

P. 31, fig. 29. J'ai des doutes sérieux sur l'authenticité de cette tête dont le visage semble bien avoir été habilement resculpté par un de ces faussaires siamois ou japonais qui sévissent à Bangkok, et que l'auteur connaît aussi bien que moi.

P. 31. A propos de la tête en stuc reproduite sur la figure 30, l'auteur dit que ces masques ne se trouvent qu'à Prā Pāthōm et nulle part ailleurs. Cette affirmation est inexacte, car on en a trouvé aussi un bon nombre à Lōp'būri.

P. 32-33. Le jugement porté sur la qualité esthétique des statuettes khmères et pré-khmères en bronze est d'une sévérité exagérée. Parmi celles que j'ai publiées dans mes *Bronzes khmères* (Ars Asiatica, vol. V.) et que l'auteur a pu voir à Bangkok, il y en a qui ne le cèdent en rien aux productions des sculpteurs sur pierre (cf. par exemple, parmi

les statuettes brahmaniques : pl. VII, VIII, X (2), XIX ; et parmi les bouddhiques : XX (I), XXI (2), XXXIX).

P. 33. La différence dans la position des jambes, soit étroitement croisées (*vajrāsana*), soit posées l'une sur l'autre (*paryāṅkāśana*) dénote une différence d'origine. La première position est celle des statues de l'Inde du Nord (d'où elle a passé au Tibet et à Java) tandis que la seconde est celle des images singhalaises.

P. 35. L'identification de Lang-ya-hsiu avec Tenasserim est périmée, comme d'ailleurs la plupart des identifications de Groeneveldt.

P. 36. La documentation de l'auteur sur l'épigraphie de Çrīvijaya n'est pas à jour. Outre l'inscription de Kota Kapur à Bangka, on connaît deux inscriptions provenant de Palembang, et une quatrième provenant du haut Batang Hari : je les ai publiées en 1930 (BEFEO., XXX, p. 337) et G. Ferrand les a reprises dans le *Journal Asiatique* (oct.-déc. 1932, p. 271). Quant à l'inscription dite de Vieng Sra j'ai indiqué depuis 1927 (*Bijdragen*, LXXXIII, p. 462, n. I) qu'elle ne provenait pas de cette localité, mais du Vāt Sema Mu'o'ng de Nāk'ôn Sri Th'āmmārat.

P. 37. Les sanscritistes feront des objections à l'orthographe Cula-māni-varman, au lieu de Cūḍāmaṇivarman. La coupure Maravi-jayottunga-varman est mal placée, le mot se décomposant ainsi : Māra-vijaya-uttunga-varman. Le mieux est d'ailleurs de ne pas couper ces composés, quelque longs qu'ils soient.

P. 51. Les Harihara de Sāmbōr (fig. 47) et de Prāsāt Andēt (fig. 46) peuvent difficilement être rangés dans l'art du Fu-nan, le premier parce que le site d'où il provient n'est pas antérieur au VII^e siècle, le second parce que ses caractéristiques le placent encore plus tard, vers la fin de l'époque préangkorienne.

P. 53. L'auteur dit que "lorsque le Tchen-la eut conquis le Fu-nan, il se scinda en deux parties, le Tchen-la d'Eau et le Tchen-la de Terre, et que ce ne fut qu'au VIII^e siècle que la partie septentrionale (Tchen-la de Terre) étendit son autorité sur tout le Cambodge." Cette assertion extraite de l'article de M. Parmentier dans *Eastern Art*, vol. III, 1931, est inexacte : la sécession se produisit au VIII^e siècle, et l'unité fut rétablie au début du IX^e par Jayavarman II venu de l'étranger.

P. 56. Si l'auteur veut bien prendre la peine de relire les textes chinois relatifs au Ch'ih-t'u, il verra qu'il est absolument impossible

de concilier leurs données géographiques avec une localisation de ce pays sur le Nām Sāk. Ce royaume de la terre rouge est à chercher sur le côté Est de la péninsule malaise. Dans un récent article, J. L. Moens donne d'assez bonnes raisons pour le placer vers Pātālūg (*Grīvijaya, Yāva en Kaṭāha*, Tijdschrift Bat. Gen., 1937, p. 343-344). 343-344).

Ibid. Il faut chercher Vyādhapura plutôt à Bā Phnom qu'à Angkor B'orēi : c'est du moins ce que j'ai essayé de montrer dans une étude qui semble avoir échappé à l'auteur (BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 127).

P. 57. Dans cette même étude (BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 131, 139) j'ai repris la question de Rudravarman, lequel se trouve cité dans une des inscriptions du Fu-nan, que j'ai publiées en 1931 (BEFEO., XXXI, p. 8).

P. 61. Je ne suis pas du tout convaincu que les bas-reliefs du Th'at P'ānōm soient "early khmer", mais je reconnais volontiers qu'ils posent un intéressant problème qui mériterait d'être étudié.

P. 69. L'auteur a adopté la datation des *dharmāṣālā* proposée par L. Finot, sans s'apercevoir que la chronologie sur laquelle celui-ci tablait en 1925 a été modifiée de fond en comble par la thèse de Ph. Stern (*Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'évolution de l'art khmèr*) et par mon étude sur la date du Bayon (BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 81). Ces *dharmāṣālā* sont presque certainement l'œuvre de Jayavarman VII et datent par conséquent de la fin du XII^e siècle. Si la route Angkor-Pimai est contemporaine de ces édifices, elle ne remonte pas plus haut.

P. 70. Ici encore l'auteur fait fond sur l'article de M. Parmentier dans *Eastern Art* dont la chronologie est malheureusement très défectueuse.

P. 71. Il n'y a, à mon avis, aucune raison de douter que la scène figurée sur la figure 68 représente la naissance du Buddha. Le "brahmane à longue barbe tenant un objet indistinct" est Brahmā tenant une conque au moyen de laquelle il se dispose à verser de l'eau lustrale sur le nouveau-né. L'absence de ce dernier peut s'expliquer sans difficulté si l'on admet que la scène représente l'instant précis où l'enfant va naître, et où les dieux s'apprêtent à le recevoir.

P. 73 et 79. Les sanctuaires composés de trois tours sur le même axe ne sont pas tous nécessairement des sanctuaires brahmaniques consacrés à la Trīmūrti. Il existe une triade bouddhique Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā, Avalokiteṣvara, fréquemment représentée en pierre

et sur les tablettes votives, à qui pareils sanctuaires peuvent avoir été dédiés.

P. 137, note I. Le Mu'ong Săn que l'auteur n'a pas pu retrouver sur la carte se trouve sur le Mênăm Noi au Sud de Căinat.

G. COEDÈS.

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Page 99, line 17 from top: for *is*, read *ist*.

Page 100, line 2 from top: for *Gudar*, read *Gustav*.

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			<u>200</u>

All addresses are in Bangkok unless otherwise stated.



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